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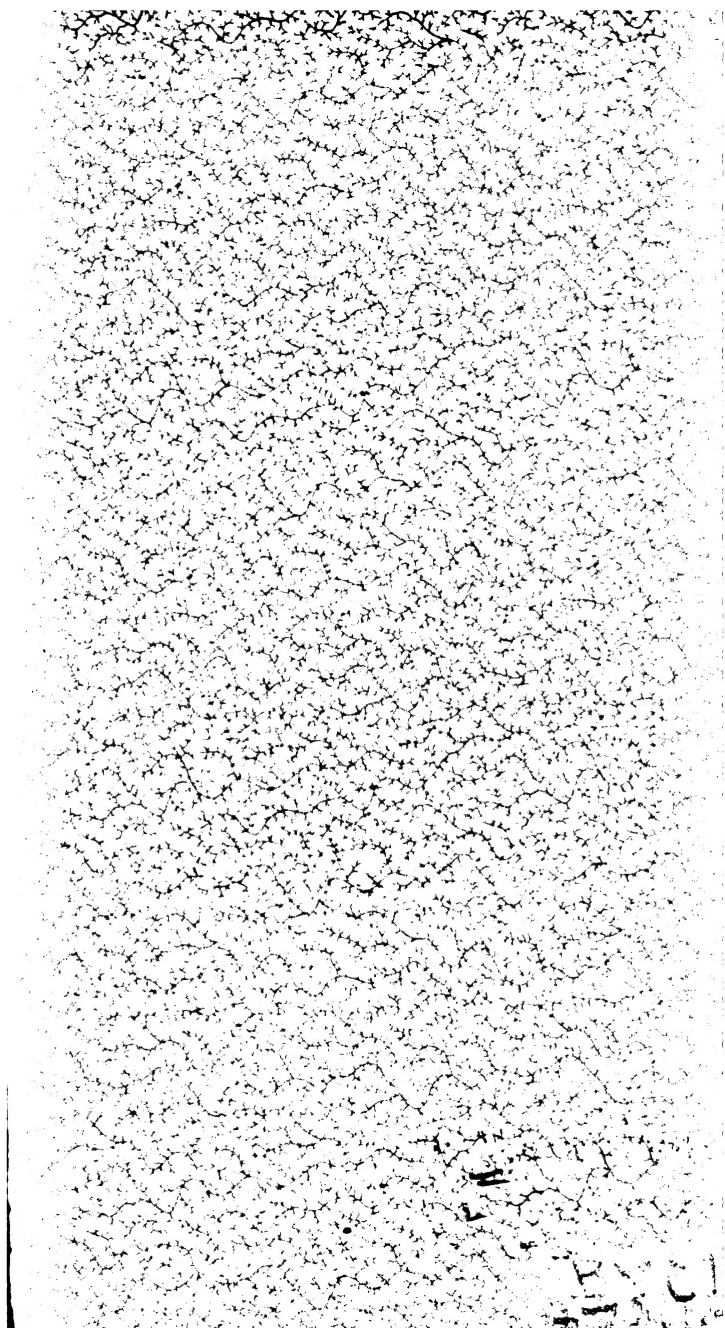
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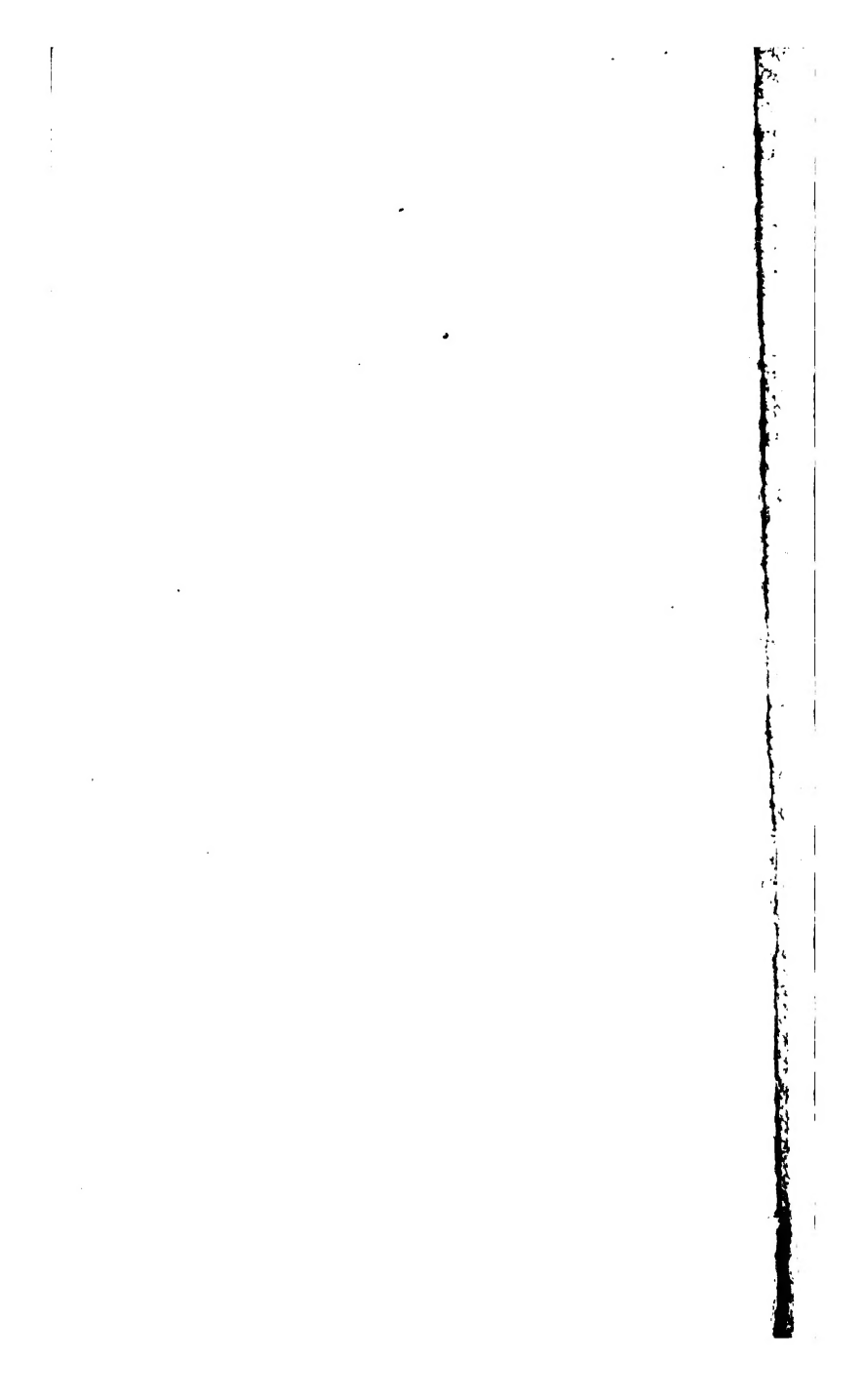
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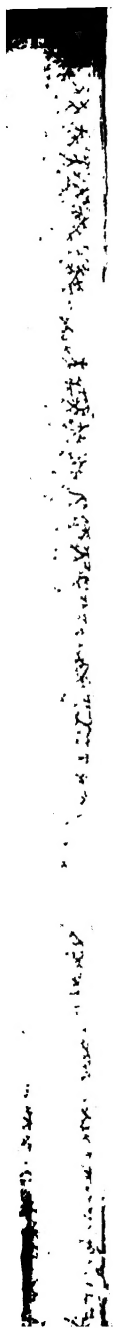
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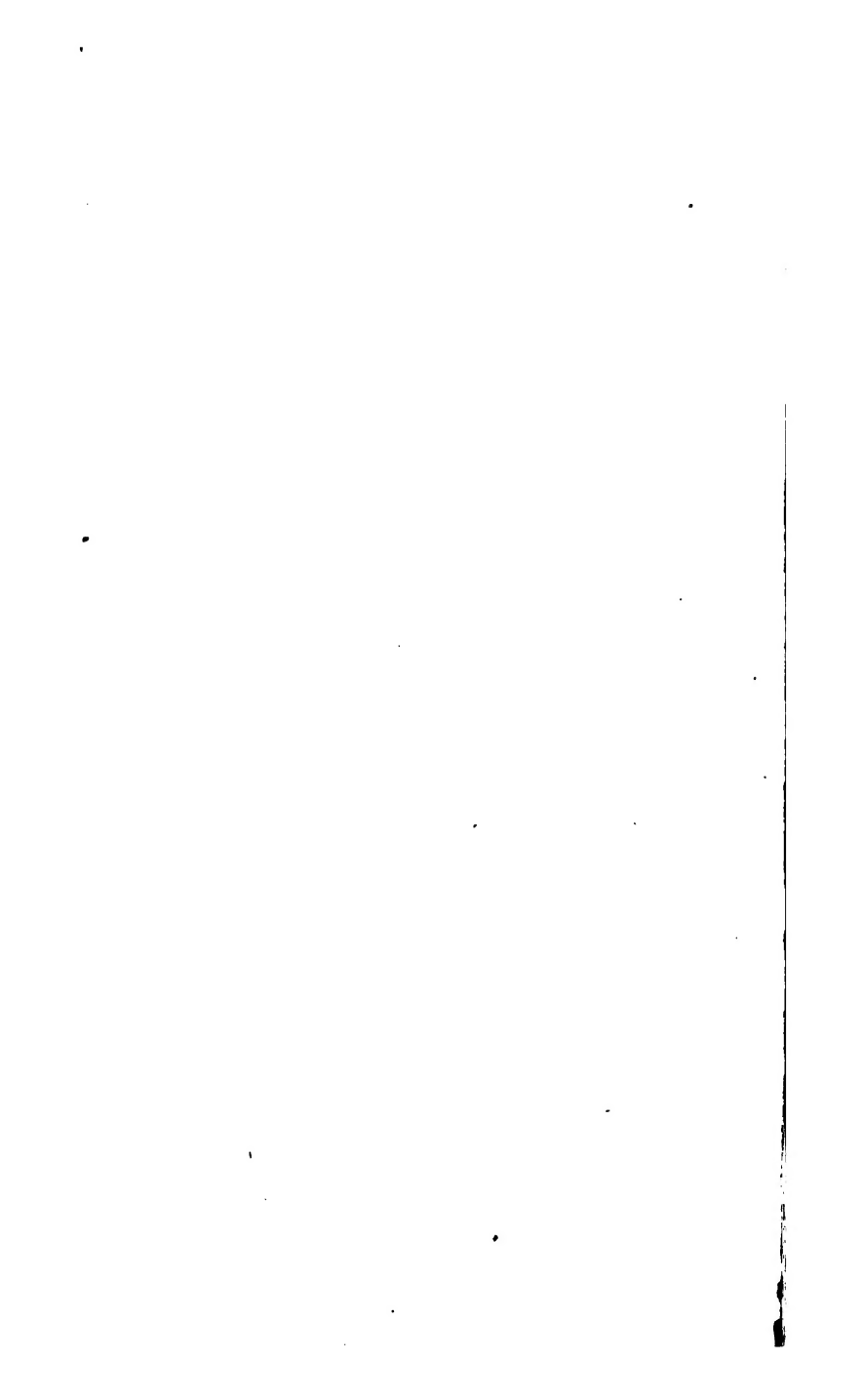


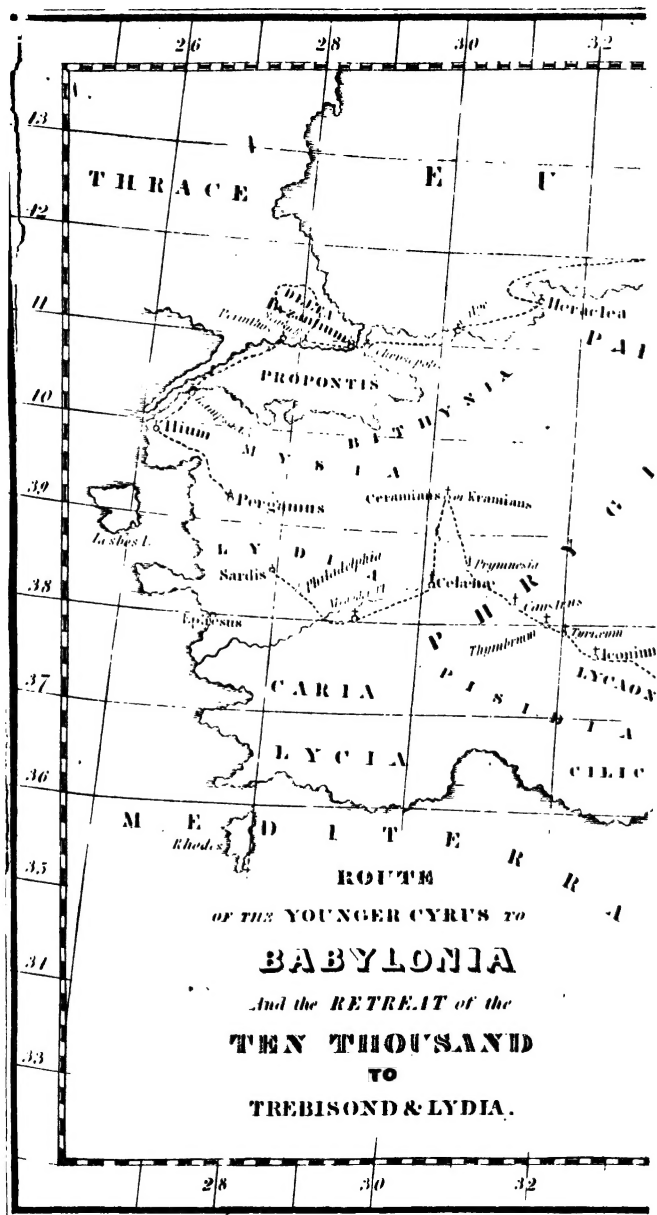
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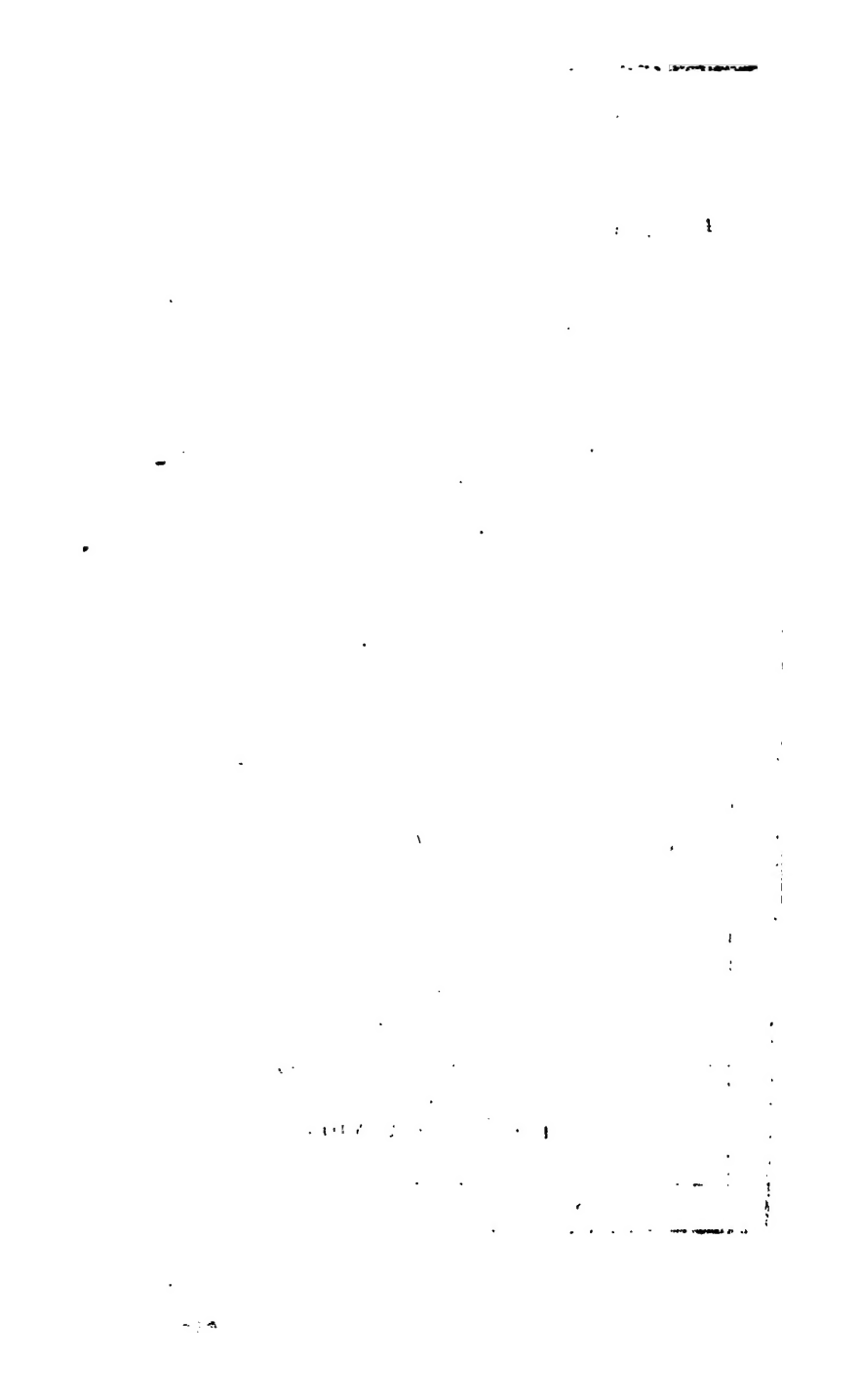












ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ.

XENOPHON'S
EXPEDITION OF CYRUS,

WITH
ENGLISH NOTES,

PREPARED
FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES,

WITH
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY
CHARLES DEXTER CLEVELAND,
PROFESSOR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

BOSTON:
BENJAMIN B. MUSSEY.

1844.
C. W. H.

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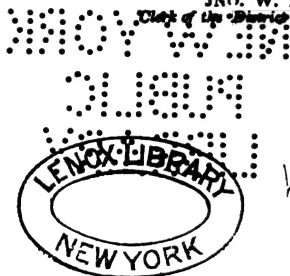
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"*Ἡροδότου Ἀνέκδοτα Κείμενα*. — Xenophon's Expedition of Cyrus, with English Notes, prepared for the Use of Schools and Colleges, with a Life of the Author, by Charles Dexter Cleveland, Professor of Languages in Dickinson College."

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JNO. W. DAVIS,

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4-21
1830



THE LIFE OF XENOPHON.

XENOPHON the son of Gryllus, an Athenian, was born about four hundred and fifty years before the Christian era. The precise period of his birth, however, cannot be satisfactorily ascertained. In early life, while walking through the streets of Athens, he was met by Socrates, the philosopher, who stopped him, and asked, where the best provisions could be found. Upon Xenophon's telling him immediately, Socrates again asked, where the best and wisest men could be found. At this Xenophon hesitated, when the philosopher said to him, *"Επου τολυνν, και μαρθανε,"* * "Then follow me, and learn." This simple incident seemed to give a direction to his thoughts, to his studies, and to his whole future life. Thenceforth he became a most devoted and faithful disciple of Socrates. He was the first who committed to writing the sayings and principles of his great master, and his account of him, styled "The Memorabilia," is among the most pleasing, instructive, and valuable writings which have been left us by antiquity.

During the Peloponnesian war Xenophon, when about twenty-six years of age, entered into the service of his country, and was at the battle before Delium, between the Athenians and Bœotians. The Athenians having been defeated, Xenophon, in the retreat, was unhorsed and thrown down; but Socrates, whose horse had been killed under him, and who was fighting

* Diogenes Laërtius.

on foot, came immediately to his assistance, and helped him from the field.* So inauspicious was the commencement of a military career, which, in after time, covered him with imperishable laurels.

The cause of Xenophon's enlisting in the service of the younger Cyrus was as follows. He had a particular friend, by the name of Proxenus, who was at the court of Cyrus, when he was meditating the expedition against his brother. Being desirous of gaining as many auxiliary troops as possible, Cyrus requested Proxenus to exert his influence to this effect. Proxenus, therefore, wrote to Xenophon, with whom he had formerly been on the most intimate terms of hospitality, and requested him to come into Asia, and connect himself with the fortunes of Cyrus, assuring him that he would gain thereby the favor of a most powerful friend, and a reward far greater than he could expect ever to acquire at Athens. Xenophon, upon the receipt of this letter, showed it to Socrates, and asked his advice. The

* Although this incident is related by Diogenes Laërtius and Strabo, yet Mitchell, in the "Preliminary Discourse" to his Aristophanes, does not hesitate to say, that it *could not* have occurred. But it is not a little remarkable that he grounds his denial of it on what is now generally rejected as a spurious reading. His words are, "This expedition is settled by chronologists as taking place just twenty-one years after the battle of Delium, and Xenophon calls himself at the time a young man (*νεανίας*).¹" The passage referred to, is in Book ii. Chap. 1, the speech to Phalinus. Weiske, Schneider, Bornemann, and Dindorf, however, read *Θεόπομπος* instead of *Ξενοφών*, on the authority of the best manuscripts. Schneider remarks on *νεανίας*, a few lines below, "Ex hoc ætatis indicio, comparato cum loco altero infra (Book iii. Chap. 1.), annos ætatis Xenophontis colligere conatus est Zeune, cujus tamen rationes non bene procedunt. Nunc vero *Xenophonti Theopompus successit*, et tota illa argumentatio concidit." We shall therefore continue to believe the early Greek historians, in their accounts of this incident in our author's life.

philosopher advised him to go to Delphi,* and consult the oracle. Accordingly Xenophon repaired thither, but did not inquire of Apollo whether it would be expedient for him to undertake the journey, but, to which of the deities he should offer sacrifices for his future success. Socrates, therefore, blamed him, on his return, because he had asked the direction of Apollo, not upon his going into Asia, but upon his duty before going, as if he had previously decided upon the step. However, he directed him to follow the injunctions of the oracle. Having sacrificed accordingly, Xenophon set sail for Asia, and arrived at Sardis, where he found Proxenus and Cyrus ready for the expedition. He entered the service of the latter not as an officer, but as a private soldier, and so conducted himself as to gain immediately the esteem and confidence of Cyrus, which, ever after, he continued to preserve.

The events connected with the two succeeding years of our author's life, which are minutely detailed in the *Anabasis*, are eminently interesting. In those two years he reaped the proudest honors, — honors which the most victorious general† the world has seen, well might envy. To have entered the territory of a powerful foreign monarch; to have subdued him battle after battle; to have pushed a conquering career to the farthest confines of his empire, were indeed splendid achievements for a youthful king. But the army of Alexander was comparatively a numerous one. The country through which he marched presented few obstacles. He conquered as he went. He left no enemy in his rear. But he lived not to see again his native land. Subduing all but himself, he died at last, a prey to his own evil passions, ingloriously at Babylon.

But to have accompanied a young and ambitious prince in an expedition to dethrone the King of Persia; to have had that prince defeated and slain; to have been treacherously deserted by those allies who had implored the aid of Greece; to have

* B. iii. c. 1.

† Alexander the Great

found himself thus situated, in the heart of an enemy's country, near the very gates of Babylon, at the head of a very small band, with nothing left them but their courage and their arms; to have conducted this small band, with enemies hovering on every side, through the midst of tribes barbarous and powerful, through regions trackless and unexplored, across rivers deep and rapid, over mountains covered with perpetual snow; to have led such a band, through such difficulties, safe to their native shores; and then to have retired, a philosopher, to instruct mankind by his writings, and to have rivalled even his sword with his pen,—such are the merits and such is the fame of Xenophon.

As Cyrus had assisted the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, in the Peloponnesian war, Xenophon, during his absence, was banished by his countrymen, for having joined the forces of that prince against his brother. But it may be doubted whether the lustre of any character could be tarnished by the censure of that people, who, on one day, condemned the virtuous and gifted Socrates to drink the hemlock, and, on the next, raised a splendid monument to his memory.

After he had thus successfully conducted the celebrated Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Xenophon connected himself with Agesilaus, who had been sent by the Lacedæmonians into Asia to carry on the war against the Persian king. But Agesilaus did not long remain in Asia. He was soon recalled by his countrymen, to assist them in repelling the attacks of the Thebans and their allies. Xenophon accompanied him, and was present at the battle of Coronea, in which the Thebans were defeated. As a reward for his distinguished services the Lacedæmonians presented Xenophon with an estate delightfully situated at Scillus,* near Olympia, whither he retired with his

* "It is difficult to imagine a more rational or more delightful life, than a few words of Diogenes Laërtius describe Xenophon as leading in that "loop-hole of retreat." *Τὸν τεύθειν διετέλει κυνηγετῶν, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐστιῶν, καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγρά-*

wife and two sons. Before Xenophon left Asia * he deposited some money in the hands of Megabysus, the keeper of the temple of Diana, with directions, if he should fall in battle, to dedicate it to the goddess, but restore it to him if he should survive. Megabysus, therefore, coming to Olympia to see the games, called upon Xenophon and returned him the money. With this he built an elegant temple to Diana, near Scillus. From this retirement, however, Xenophon was soon driven by the Eleans, who made war upon the Lacedæmonians. He then went, with his family, to Corinth, where he passed the rest of his life.

While he was at Corinth, the Thebans united with their allies to subdue the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians determined to assist the latter, and Xenophon sent his two sons, Diodorus and Gryllus, to the aid of his countrymen. At the great battle of Mantinea (A. C. 363), both these sons were present. The former did not distinguish himself, but safely survived the conflict. But Gryllus, eager for military fame, rushed into the hottest of the battle, killed Epaminondas, the Theban general, with his own hand, and was instantly cut to pieces by the surrounding enemy. When the news of his son's death reached him, Xenophon was devotedly engaged in sacrificing. He immediately laid aside the garland with which he was crowned, and inquired into the particulars of his son's death. When he was told that he had fallen bravely, in the midst of the enemy, having killed Epaminondas with his own hand, he resumed the garland and continued the sacrifice, saying briefly, *ἤδουν θνητὸν γεγεννημένος*, "I KNEW THAT I HAD BEGOT A MORTAL." But his own end was near at hand. In three years from this battle, in the first year of the 105th Olympiad (A. C. 360), he

γεν. Books, study, composition, the healthy sports of the field, and the enjoyments of social recreation ; — nothing seems wanting to the picture, which our imaginations are accustomed to draw of an accomplished heathen philosopher." Mitchell.

* B. v. c. 3.

departed this life at Corinth, in the full possession of his mental powers.

Thus died Xenophon, in the ninety-first year of his age. As a philosopher, as an historian, as a general, and as a man, he united qualities which are rarely found in the same individual. His manners and personal appearance are described by Laërtius in one short but comprehensive sentence, *αἰδήμων δὲ καὶ εὐειδέστατος εἰς ὑπερβολήν*, "modest in deportment, and beautiful in person to a remarkable degree."

As a philosopher he was strictly of the Socratic sect. Strongly attached to his illustrious master, to him also he became particularly endeared. Endeavouring to follow in practice the precepts which he had learned from his lips, he disdained to waste his time upon mere verbal quibbles and useless disputes, striving only to be practical; to do good to his fellow men; to instil into them the purest principles of morality; to inculcate a most profound reverence for the gods; in short, to make himself the worthy disciple of him who was said to have "brought down philosophy from heaven to earth."

As a writer he has universally been held up as a model for purity, elegance, and ease. By some of his contemporaries, he was styled "The Attic Muse," by others, "The Athenian Bee." He has the happy faculty of varying his style according to the subjects he may be discussing; so that in philosophy, history, politics, and personal narrative, he appears equally at home. If in either of these departments he excels, it is in historical narration. Had he written nothing else, the "Anabasis" alone would have fixed him, as one of the most brilliant stars in that lustrous constellation which blazed upon Greece in her earlier days, and whose beams, undiminished in lustre, have steadily illumined all after time.

But if the "Anabasis" of Xenophon has done so much to distinguish him as a writer, it has done no less to exalt him as a

general. His knowledge of human nature, and of those latent springs by the touch of which the human heart is moved, is as remarkable, as the moral influence which he exerts over his soldiers is unbounded. They love him for his virtues, and obey him for his superior wisdom and courage. His presence of mind seems never to forsake him. He never appears at a loss either what to say or do. Is the rear of the army annoyed by the cavalry of the enemy, against which the heavy-armed men cannot act? Immediately his genius suggests a plan, and his energy executes it, by which the horse of the enemy are kept at a distance, and the army secured.* Are the soldiers, after the battle, deploring their situation, in the midst of a desert and hostile land?† Xenophon addresses them in a most animated and spirit-stirring harangue, and, by contrasting their own superior discipline with the unmanageable multitude of the king, by reminding them of the deeds of their ancestors, of the immortal honors they gained upon the plains of Marathon, and by every allusion which would be of thrilling power to a Grecian breast, prepares them to resist the foe, and to overcome every obstacle which may oppose their retreat. Are many of the army, when dragging their way over the rugged mountains and amid the deep snows of Armenia, disposed to give up in despair?‡ Xenophon revives their drooping spirits, by bringing to their minds the fertile shores and the delicious climate of Greece, and their beloved wives and children and kindred awaiting their return. Do the soldiers, exasperated by pledges repeatedly violated, rush into the midst of a Grecian city, and commence a universal plunder? Instantly Xenophon appears among them, calls them to arms, demonstrates to them their rashness and folly, calms their minds, and conducts them out pacified, and perfectly submissive to his will; thus displaying the greatest of all oratorical power, that of calming the 'stormy passions of an infuriated soldiery. §

Finally, it is as a man that Xenophon excites our fondest admiration, our warmest esteem. By his unaffected modesty

* B. iii. c. 3. † B. iii. c. 2. ‡ B. iv. c. 5. § B. vii. c. 1.

and urbanity he gains the one; by his firm principles, moral and religious, he commands the other. His intimacy with Socrates, the testimony of his contemporaries, and the sentiments which pervade the whole of his writings, attest his great moral worth. That he was temperate, appears evident from his often-repeated maxim, "It is pleasant, when hungry, to eat herbs; when thirsty, to drink water." That he was benevolent, may be seen from his distributing among his soldiers many valuable presents which were made to himself. That he was a faithful friend, we have abundant evidence in the character and permanency of all his friendships, but particularly in his eulogium of Agesilaus, and his defence of his master, Socrates. That he was honest, is clear from his publishing the writings of Thucydides as he did, when he might easily, and without the least suspicion, have given them to the world as his own.

But were we desired to name the most prominent trait in his character, we should say it was his reverence for the gods of his country. He does nothing, he attempts nothing, without first appealing to them. Is he desirous of going into Asia to join the forces of Cyrus? He first repairs to the oracle of Apollo, to learn the mind and purposes of the deity.* Do the soldiers, nearly destitute of provisions,† importune him to lead them out to obtain supplies? He steadily and constantly refuses, so long as the victims appear unfavorable. Does the army unanimously elect him their sole general?‡ Grateful for the honor, and ambitious to signalize, still more, both himself and his country; yet feeling the weight of responsibility that would be consequent upon his accepting so high a trust, he offers up solemn sacrifices to Jupiter, to ascertain his duty, and immediately declines the proffered honor, when the omens do not seem clearly to signify the expediency of his assuming it. Is he about to enter into a solemn treaty of peace with the enemy? In the presence of all, he first calls upon the gods, the guardians of friendship and the avengers of perjury, to witness their

* B. iii. c. 1.

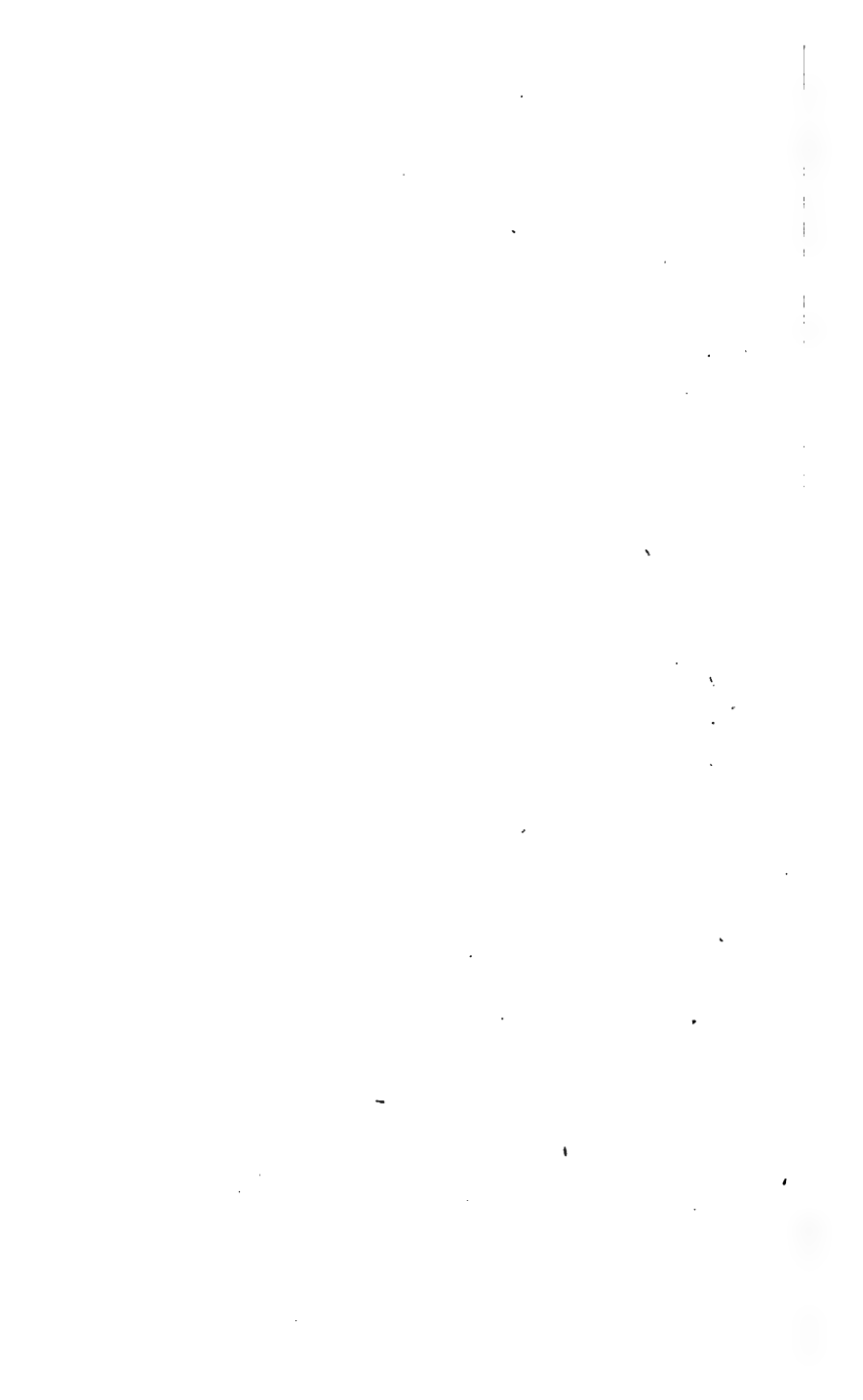
† B. vi. c. 1.

‡ B. vi. c. 2.

mutual oaths of fidelity, and imprecates, upon the head of the faithless and the treacherous, the vengeance of Him, "who pervades all space, who governs all," and from whom "no swiftness can save, no darkness hide, no strong place defend." *

But in order to form a correct judgment of one's piety, we must try him by no false standard. Though we venerate Xenophon as a philosopher, we must bear in mind that he was but a heathen philosopher; though he deserves our highest praise for making the best use of the only light he had, we must not forget that it was but the glimmering light of Nature, and that neither he, nor his still more gifted compeer, the Master of the Academy, had any faint perceptions of the spirit of that precept, which is the foundation of Christian ethics and shines on every page of Revelation, "Do unto others as you would wish others to do unto you."

* B. ii. c. 5.



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Cyrus the younger, being accused of meditating the destruction of his brother Artaxerxes, who had succeeded to the throne, is nearly subjected to the punishment of treason ; but, through the entreaties of his mother, he is sent back to the government of his own province, of which he was satrap. Here he secretly prepares to make war against his sovereign, and assembles an army, partly composed of Greek troops which his friends collect for him, as though a very different expedition were intended. . 1

CHAPTER II.

Cyrus sets out from Sardis, and marches through various countries, Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, &c. Tissaphernes, in the mean time, hastens to the king, to inform him of Cyrus' movements. Epyaxa, the wife of the king of Cilicia, visits Cyrus. At her request the army is reviewed. The evolutions of the Greek infantry strike great terror into the queen, and into all the barbarians present at the review. Having reached Tarsus, Cyrus summons to his presence Syennesis, the Cilician king. At first he declines going ; but, at length, yielding to the entreaties of his wife, he trusts himself within the power of Cyrus, and assists him with sums of money. 3

CHAPTER III.

Cyrus is compelled to remain at Tarsus twenty days, in consequence of a mutiny among the Greeks, who, suspecting that the expedition was against the king, nearly stone Clearchus to death, who endeavoured to urge them to proceed. A deputation is sent to question Cyrus on the design of the expedition. He replies, that he was leading them against a certain Abrocomas, and promises them additional pay. The Greeks, therefore, determine to march onward with him. 9

CHAPTER IV.

As soon as the army reach Issus, the last city in Cilicia, they are joined by the fleet. They then pass the defiles, and proceed through Syria. While they are at Myriandrus, two of the generals, Xenias and Pasion, secretly leave the army, and sail away with all their effects. But from the mildness of Cyrus, on the occasion, the soldiers become more attached to him. As soon as they reach Thapsacus, Cyrus opens to them his design. At first the soldiers are indignant at the deception; but, excited by promises, they all cross the Euphrates, Menon displaying his crafty character, by gaining to himself without risk the entire credit of setting the example. 12

CHAPTER V.

After passing the Euphrates Cyrus continues his march, keeping this river upon the right. The journey, however, is impeded, in consequence of the badness of the roads and the difficulty of obtaining provisions. As soon as the army enters the country opposite the city Charmande, the soldiers cross the river upon rafts made of skins stuffed with hay, and obtain supplies. A dangerous quarrel arises among the Greeks, in which the soldiers of the opposite factions come to blows; but Cyrus, by a seasonable address, quells the tumult, and calms their animosity. 16

CHAPTER VI.

Orontes, a Persian nobleman, who, twice before, had acted treacherously towards Cyrus, and had been received into favor, now for

the third time endeavours to desert to the king. But his plans are discovered, he himself is apprehended, and, being convicted on the judgment of Clearchus and others, is condemned to death and executed. 20

CHAPTER VII.

Cyrus, after having marched a short distance through Babylonia, suspecting that the army of the king was near, draws up his forces at midnight, and reviews them, promising the Greeks magnificent presents, if victorious. The army then, drawn up in order of battle, cross the large trench, which the king had cut through the plain. As Artaxerxes does not appear, Cyrus thinks he has given up the design of fighting, and therefore marches with little circumspection, and order. 22

CHAPTER VIII.

At length Artaxerxes approaches, unexpectedly, with his army drawn up in order of battle. All the troops of Cyrus, therefore, both Greeks and Persians, are thrown into confusion, and immediately hurry to their arms. They soon, however, form the line of battle. The Greeks, who form the right wing next to the Euphrates, easily rout the Barbarians opposed to them. Cyrus, attended by a few faithful friends, fights too eagerly, and, attacking the king in person, is himself slain. 25

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CHAPTER X.

The king, in his pursuit of Arizæus, takes possession of the camp of Cyrus, and plunders it. Then, having collected together his forces, he returns to march against the Greeks, who had conquered the wing of the enemy opposed to them. But he is a second time put to flight by the Greeks, who, having recovered their lost baggage, return to their own camp. 33

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

The Greeks receive intelligence of the death of Cyrus, and of the design of Arisæus to return to Ionia. Clearchus endeavours to divert him from this intention, and promises him the empire of Persia. Artaxerxes first orders the Greeks to deliver up their arms, which they manfully refuse to do. Then he promises peace, if they remain where they are, but threatens war if they depart : to which the Greeks reply, " Tell the king that we agree to his sentiment, — peace if we remain, war if we depart." 37

CHAPTER II.

The Greeks repair to Arisæus, who invited them to join him, having refused to be made king. After a solemn league had been made between them, and mutual pledges of fidelity had been given, they consult concerning their return. Arisæus advises a different route from the one by which they had come, in order to obtain a better supply of provisions. Early in the morning they commence their march, and towards evening they draw near the suburbs of Babylon, where they perceive marks of the king's camp. As his soldiers are much fatigued, Clearchus does not lead them against the enemy, neither does he appear to decline an engagement. The army, during their encampment at night, are somewhat alarmed, but are soon quieted by a stratagem of Clearchus. 41

CHAPTER III.

The king, alarmed at the unexpected approach of the Greeks, sends ambassadors to effect a treaty of peace. The Greeks reply, with great coolness, that it was rather necessary for them to fight, as they had nothing on which they could dine. Therefore, at the command of the king, in order that they may conclude the treaty, they are led into villages abounding in provisions. After three days Tissaphernes is sent to ask them why they had taken arms against the king. Clearchus replies with freedom and truth. Tissa-

phernes, when he had reported the answer to the king, after three days makes a treaty with them, on the condition that the Persians lead them back faithfully to their own country, and afford them provisions, which the Greeks may buy peaceably, or take without laying waste the country. 44

CHAPTER IV.

While the Greeks are awaiting the arrival of Tissaphernes from the king, Arizæus is suspected of treachery. Therefore when Tissaphernes, who is to conduct the journey, arrives with his forces, the Greeks, having no confidence in his integrity, march by themselves, and pitch their camp at a considerable distance from that of the Barbarians.* In this manner the march is conducted. Soon they pass two canals, and arrive at Sitace, a city upon the banks of the Tigris. Then, apprehensive of treachery on the part of the Persians, the Greeks cross the Tigris, and after that the Phrycus, on the other side of which was the city Opis. Here they meet a brother of Artaxerxes, advancing with an army to his assistance. Clearchus marches his soldiers, so as to display them to the greatest advantage. The Persians are struck with their number and appearance. After six days' march they reach some villages belonging to Parysatis, which Tissaphernes permits them to plunder. After five days' march they arrive at the river Zabatus. . . . 48

CHAPTER V.

The Greeks remain at the villages of Parysatis three days. Their suspicion of treachery on the part of the Persians increases. Clearchus, in a conversation with Tissaphernes, tells him that the Persians have no cause to fear the Greeks, for they had confirmed the treaty with a solemn oath; and that the fidelity of each would benefit the other. Tissaphernes, on the other hand, makes similar assurances, saying that it would be folly for the king, possessed of such vast resources, to resort to fraud, especially when he needed the friendship of the Greeks. By the conversation and manner of Tissaphernes, Clearchus is deceived. On the next day Clearchus, with four generals and twenty captains, goes to the camp of Tis-

* The Greeks called all people but themselves, *oi βάρβαροι*.

saphernes (agreeably to his request) in order to learn who they were that had been raising suspicions in either army, of the other's fidelity. While they are in the camp, on a given signal, the Persian cavalry rush in upon them and seize them. The Greeks are then ordered to deliver up their arms, but they return a most reproachful answer. 52

CHAPTER VI.

The characters of the generals who were put to death are described. **CLERARCHUS** is represented as perfectly skilled in military affairs; ready to meet danger; prompt in procuring supplies for the soldiers; so rigid in his military discipline, that the soldiers, while they loved him, feared him more than the enemy; and, finally, as one born to command rather than obey. **PROXENUS** is described as one who had been ambitious of fame even from a child. Hence, that he might, by honorable means, obtain glory and wealth, he entered the service of Cyrus. His disposition was so mild, that he stood more in awe of the soldiers than they of him; whence he was much beloved by the good, while the bad took advantage of his kindness and good nature. On the other hand, **MENO** was one of the most depraved of men. Avaricious, perfidious, fraudulent, he plotted against his friends more than his enemies. Whoever was inferior to him in any species of vice, was despised by him as ignorant and stupid, while he never failed to slander every good man. He was not put to death with the other generals, on account of his having betrayed them; but afterwards he suffered, as he deserved, a most severe death. **AGIAS** and **SOCRATES** are spoken well of, both as soldiers and friends. . . . 58

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

Much confusion and dejection prevails in the Grecian army thus deprived of its leaders. Xenophon relates, in a few words, the manner in which he came to serve under Cyrus. He has a remarkable

dream, from which he arouses himself early in the morning, and assembles the officers of the army, to consult for the general good. When they are assembled he exhorts them to be of good courage, and to elect generals in the place of those who have been put to death, declaring it as his opinion that, if the king appeared, they should give him battle. One Apollonides, opposing this advice, is ejected from his place. Xenophon harangues the officers and soldiers, in an eloquent and manly speech, which is approved by all; when immediately new generals are elected. . . . 63

CHAPTER II.

The soldiers being called together about day-break, Chrisophus first speaks, exhorting them either to conquer bravely or die gloriously. Then Cleanor, who dwells chiefly upon the perjury of the king and the treachery of Tissaphernes and Ariæus. Lastly, Xenophon, clad in rich armour, rises and harangues the troops. First he raises the spirits of the men, by telling them, that they would have the favor and protection of the gods, while the Persians must be subject to the divine wrath for their perjury; that in days long past superior courage had overcome the great forces of Darius and Xerxes; that they themselves had just defeated Artaxerxes; that they should now fight with as much firmness for safety as they had done for empire. Then he removes every obstacle which seems to oppose them, — their not having Tissaphernes for a guide, — the king's not furnishing them provisions, — the deep rivers they have to pass, — by saying that they might easily, if they wished, remain and settle in the king's territory. Finally, he points out the method of conducting their journey, and of preparing for battle: declaring that every thing must be left, which is not absolutely necessary; that the generals must be more vigilant, the soldiers more obedient; and that every thing should be done without delay. The sentiments of Xenophon are approved, and generals are chosen to superintend the particular parts of the army. . . . 70

CHAPTER III.

When the Greeks are about to march, Mithridates approaches with thirty horse, and desires a consultation, professing to be friendly to

them. When the Greeks reply that they were going home, he tries to convince them that this is not possible, unless they have the permission of the king. But they determine never again to enter into any alliance with him. After they have passed the river Zabatus, Mithridates returns with two hundred horse, and four hundred light-armed soldiers, and attacks the rear of the Greeks, who are somewhat molested. As soon, however, as they reach some villages, at the instigation of Xenophon, companies of slingers and horsemen are equipped, in order to keep off the enemy, . . . 77

CHAPTER IV.

On the next day, Mithridates, with a larger number of forces, attacks the Greeks, but is easily repulsed by their slingers and horsemen, though not without the loss of many men. The Greeks then reach the Tigris, and pitch their camp at Larissa. On the following day they arrive at Mespila, but on the next they are attacked by Tissaphernes, who is driven back. They remain encamped three days, and during this time change the form of their army. They then make four days' marches, and on the fifth day begin to ascend the hills, but are harassed by the enemy until they reach some villages. Having remained here three days, to take care of their wounded and procure supplies, on the fourth they take up their march, but by an attack of the enemy they are compelled to return into the village. After the departure of the enemy, towards evening, they leave the village, and gain so much this night, that the enemy do not overtake them till the fourth day. The Persians then seize upon the hills and narrow passes, but, by the activity and bravery of Xenophon, they are driven from their ground. . . . 80

CHAPTER V.

Towards evening the enemy suddenly return, cut off a few Greeks, who were in the plains for provisions, and burn the villages. After they have been driven back, the Grecian generals consult upon the most expedient route; for on one side was the Tigris, which could not be passed without a bridge, and on the other the steep mountains of the Carduchi. A certain Rhodian proposes a plan for crossing the river, which is rejected. On the next day they re-

trace their steps a little, and having made every inquiry, as to the nature and situation of the country, of some captives whom they took, they determined to march over the mountains. . . . 86

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

Early the next day the Greeks enter the territory of the Carduchi-ans, and consume the whole day in ascending and descending the hills. They are considerably harassed by the barbarians. On the following day they leave most of their sumpter-horses and slaves, that their march may not be impeded, and proceed over the mountains, but are much molested. A severe storm arises, but in consequence of a dearth of provisions in the army they march on with all possible expedition. The enemy follow them, and attack their rear. Towards evening they reach an eminence which is entirely besieged by the Barbarians. They then question two captives, acquainted with the country, whether there was any other road. One of them affecting ignorance, they cut him in pieces before the eyes of the other, who, fearing the same fate, promises to lead them by a circuitous and more convenient path. . . . 90

CHAPTER II.

At night two thousand soldiers, under the direction of the guide, are sent to occupy the heights in another direction. They rout the Barbarians in the morning, and thus enable the rest of the troops to march on. Xenophou, with the baggage and rear of the army, takes a road a little distant from the others, as the most convenient for the horses. But although he acts with great prudence and courage, some of his men are killed. At length, after being much harassed by the enemy, the Greeks take their way over the mountains, and reach some settlements, where they find an abundance of provisions and enjoy repose. . . . 94

CHAPTER III.

At length, after a most toilsome and perilous march of seven days over the mountains, the Greeks arrive at the river Centrites, where they halt for repose. Here new difficulties are presented to them. Three obstacles seem to prevent their crossing the river,—the great number of Barbarians on the other side,—the depth and rapidity of the stream,—and the enemy who were pressing hard upon their rear. But encouraged by Xenophon's dream, the army crosses by a ford, and the skilful management of Xenophon crowns the whole with complete success. . 98

CHAPTER IV.

After the passage of the Centrites the Greeks march through Armenia, and soon reach the sources of the Tigris. In a few days they arrive at the river Teleboas, in western Armenia. Here they enter into a friendly alliance with Teribazus, the governor of the country, at his request. Notwithstanding his oath of fidelity Teribazus follows the Greeks, with a large force, and lays snares for their destruction. Wherefore they leave the villages where they were encamped, and pass the night in the open fields during a heavy fall of snow. 102

CHAPTER V.

In order that the enemy may not again overtake them, the Greeks depart the next day. For many days the army suffer much from the great severity of the weather, and the depth of the snow, as the Barbarians are continually annoying them. At length they reach some villages, where they find provisions in great plenty. Here they remain seven days. 105

CHAPTER VI.

On the eighth day after their encampment the Greeks take up their march, with the *συνάγχις* for their guide, who, on the third day, secretly leaves the army, having been badly treated by Chirso-phus. The Greeks then continue their journey without a guide, and on the seventh day reach the river Phasis. After two days

more they arrive at the mountains inhabited by the Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians. The Barbarians oppose the progress of the Greeks. A council is held. By the advice of Xenophon a select number of soldiers are sent privately, by night, to the tops of those mountains on which the enemy are not stationed, in order to fall upon them early in the morning. All this is done. The enemy are routed; the Greeks pass the mountains, descend into fertile plains, and arrive at some villages in which are all kinds of provisions in plenty. 110

CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks suffer somewhat from the want of supplies (the Taochians having carried all their provisions into the fortifications), until, by the advice and bravery of Xenophon, some of the castles are attacked and taken, when the soldiers supply all their wants. The Greeks carry with them sufficient to last them seven days, during their march through the territory of the Chalybians, who are represented as the bravest of all the Barbarians. Then they arrive at the river Harpasus, and, after a journey of four days through the territory of the Scythians, they reach some villages where they remain four days. The governor of this region affords them a guide, who, in five days, leads them to the summit of mount Theche, from which they espy the sea. With exulting shouts they exclaim "The sea, the sea," and throwing together a large heap of stones as a trophy, they crown it with offerings to the gods. The guide then takes his leave, laden with valuable presents. . . . 114

CHAPTER VIII.

Having marched through the provinces of the Macronians, with whom they entered into a treaty of peace, in six days the Greeks arrive at the Colchian Mountains. Here they are opposed by the inhabitants, who are soon routed, when the army again reach some fertile villages. In two days they arrive at Trapezus, a city of the Greeks, on the borders of the Euxine sea. Here they remain thirty days, during which time they go out into the neighbouring country to procure supplies. In the mean time they offer solemn sacrifices to the gods for their safe return, and celebrate festive games and entertainments. 118

BOOK FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

A consultation is held upon the best manner of prosecuting the rest of the journey. Antileon proposes to go by sea, which all approve. Chirisophus is sent in quest of ships. In the mean time Xenophon harangues the troops upon the manner of employing their time. He remarks that in procuring supplies from an enemy's country great caution must be used; that they should go out in large bodies, but leave enough behind to guard the camp; — that the ships which sail by the port should be stopped, and brought in for their use; — and that, lest they should not have ships enough, the towns upon the sea-coast should be instructed to repair their roads. The soldiers approve all his remarks excepting those upon the mending of the roads, for they dread to go any more by land. Dexippus is sent to procure ships, but sails away. Polycrates is then sent, who faithfully discharges his duty. 123

CHAPTER II.

The Greeks begin to be in want of provisions, and therefore prepare for an excursion. A part of the army is led against the Drilæ, a most warlike nation, inhabiting a rough and mountainous country. At first the Greeks take but little booty, as the inhabitants burn every thing and quit their homes. At length they reach a city strongly fortified, in which all the enemy, with their effects, were collected. The assault is made upon the city, which is taken, but the citadel is impregnable. The situation of the Greeks within the city is perilous, but at length they return in safety to their camp. 126

CHAPTER III.

When the Greeks could not any longer wait for the arrival of Chirisophus, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, they put on board some vessels the feeble and sick, together with the women and children, while they themselves march over land to Cerasus.

The army is reviewed. The money received from the sale of the captives is divided among the soldiers. The tenth part, however, is consecrated to Apollo and Diana. Xenophon, particularly, erects a splendid temple and altar, in after time, in honor of the goddess. 130

CHAPTER IV.

When the Greeks reach the territory of the Mosynœci, the people make a stand against them, and endeavour to prevent their passing. The Greeks enter into an alliance with another nation at enmity with the former. But these allies are soon defeated. On the next day Xenophon himself, after he had animated his troops, attacks the enemy and puts them to flight. Two castles are burnt, together with the soldiers in them; the capital of the kingdom is taken, and some other places are either assaulted or taken into alliance. The chapter closes with a description of the manners of the Mosynœci. 132

CHAPTER V.

In eight days the Greeks arrive at the boundaries of the Tibareni, with whom, by the advice of the soothsayers, they make a treaty, and in two days reach the city Cotyora. Here they remain forty-five days, and collect their supplies partly from Paphlagonia and partly from the Cotyorensian territory, which they plunder. The Sinopeans send ambassadors to the Grecians, complaining of their injuries against the Cotyorensians, and threatening revenge. Xenophon replies to them with great firmness, and thus effects a change in their feelings and tone of address. 136

CHAPTER VI.

Agreeably to the advice of an ambassador of the Sinopeans, the Greeks conclude to go by sea, instead of marching through Paphlagonia. Xenophon proposes to found a city on the Euxine, which proposition the sacrifices favor. But his plans are opposed by the deceit and falsehood of the soothsayer, by the envy of some of the generals, and by the empty promises of the Heracleotæ. Therefore he yields this point, and advises that they should all depart together, contrary to the desire of Silanus. The Heracleotæ

send ships, but no stipendiary rewards to the soldiers. In consequence of this, those generals who had excited the hopes of the soldiers begin to fear, and say to Xenophon that they are now ready to adopt his course and settle on the Euxine. When Xenophon refuses to make the proposition to the soldiers, the generals themselves undertake to bring the subordinate officers over to their opinions. 139

CHAPTER VII.

When the soldiers reject the plan of going to the Phasis, Neon, the Lacedæmonian, accuses Xenophon as the author of it. There being some apprehension that the soldiers may take violent measures, Xenophon rises to address them. First he shows the folly of the charge. Then he complains to them of the increasing laxity of their discipline, and proves it by adducing their cruel treatment towards the ambassadors of the Colchians, and the commissaries of the army. Should this evil increase he fears lest the whole army should become hateful both to gods and men. Influenced by this speech, the soldiers determine, that the authors of the columnies shall be brought to trial, and that if any, hereafter, shall be found guilty of such offences, they shall be severely punished. At the direction of Xenophon the army is purified. 145

CHAPTER VIII.

When the generals are called to answer for their past conduct, agreeably to the decree of the soldiers, some accuse Xenophon of improper severity and of cruelly beating them. But he easily refutes this accusation, saying, that he had sometimes indeed resorted to stripes, but that it was through necessity, and for the safety of those very persons who now accuse him, and that he never struck any one from mere wantonness or anger. 150

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

The Paphlagonians send ambassadors to the Greeks, to propose terms of amity, which are agreed to. While they are in the camp, the Greeks entertain them with exhibitions of dancing after the custom of their country. After the departure of the embassy the army sails from Cotyora, with a fair wind, and soon arrives at the port Harmene. Here the Greeks stay five days, and determine to elect a general who shall have the sole direction of the expedition. Xenophon is chosen, but, as the sacrifices which he purposely offers are unfavorable, he declines. Chirisophus the Lacedæmonian is then elected. 154

CHAPTER II.

The whole army sets sail for Heraclea, under the direction of Chirisophus. There a sedition arises. The army is divided into three parts. The first division, which is the greatest, consists of Arcadians and Achæians, who elect for themselves ten generals. The second division is commanded by Chirisophus, and the third by Xenophon. 159

CHAPTER III.

The Arcadians, eager for plunder, first set sail, and reach the port Calpe. Thence they march into the country, attack the Bithynians, and obtain some booty. Soon, however, they are besieged by the enemy, upon a hill, and are in great danger of being taken. As soon as Xenophon hears this, he marches to the assistance of the Greeks, and, when at a great distance, builds large fires upon an eminence, by which the enemy are frightened, and the siege is raised. On the next day Xenophon overtakes the Arcadians at Calpe, where Chirisophus had just before arrived with his troops, so that the three divisions of the army are now there together. . 163

CHAPTER IV.

A description of the port of Calpe. The productions of the country are enumerated. The soldiers are unwilling to pitch their camp in any of the neighbouring villages, suspecting that there is a design to use their services in building a city. They therefore encamp near the shore. After the third day a resolution is passed that whoever should use his influence to separate the army, should be capitally punished. Neon succeeds Chirisophus in the chief command. They are in want of provisions, but the victims, at every sacrifice offered, are not favorable to their going out to get supplies. Neon, however, leads out two thousand men. But the cavalry of Pharnabazus attack them, and kill five hundred. The rest retreat to a mountain. The news is brought to Xenophon, who goes to their relief and brings them back to the camp. . . . 165

CHAPTER V.

The Greeks in order to be safe from attack, pitch their camp in a strong place and fortify it. Xenophon as soon as he has offered sacrifices, which prove favorable, leads out the army, drawn up in order of battle, after he has left a guard behind to defend the camp. They soon meet with the bodies of those soldiers who were killed in battle the day before, and bury them. The enemy are discovered upon a hill, prepared for an engagement. The Greeks march against them, but are stopped by a deep valley. Animated by an address from Xenophon they cross the valley, engage with the Barbarians, and put them to flight. 170

CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks now collect provisions from every part of the Bithynian territory. Cleander, the Spartan magistrate, arrives with two galleys. By the duplicity and dishonesty of Dexippus, he becomes alienated from the Grecian army. Xenophon is assiduous to effect a reconciliation, and succeeds. But Cleander, having offered many sacrifices which were unfavorable, declines taking the command of the army. They therefore march, with their former generals, through Bithynia, and, with great booty, soon reach the city of Chrysopolis. 174

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Anaxibius, the admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet, being influenced by the promises of Pharnabazus, prevails upon the Greeks, by promising them money, to cross over to Byzantium. He then deceives them again, so as to effect their removal from the city. The inhabitants shut the gates upon the army. The soldiers break through them, however, but are at length pacified by Xenophon, who prevails upon them to leave Byzantium. Coeratades offers himself to the Greeks as their general, and is accepted; but in a few days he abdicates the command. 180

CHAPTER II.

The Grecian generals disagree about a plan of operations, and many of the soldiers leave the army, four hundred of whom are sold as slaves by Aristarchus, the governor of Byzantium. He also lays snares for Xenophon, who, with a select number of men, goes to Seuthes to learn on what terms he will employ, in his service, the Grecian army. 186

CHAPTER III.

All the Greeks, except Neon, are pleased with the propositions of Seuthes, and march to meet him. A treaty is ratified between the two parties, and the Grecian army is entertained after the Thracian custom. Seuthes consults with the Greeks about undertaking an expedition. In the night they all march out against the enemy, whom, on the next day, they find unprepared, and easily vanquish. They obtain large supplies of slaves and cattle. 191

CHAPTER IV.

Seuthes burns the villages of the enemy. He then, in company with the Greeks, encamps in the plain of the Thynians. There is a

great fall of snow, and the weather is very severe. The Greeks therefore go into the houses of the village. The Barbarians fly to the mountains, but pretend that they will enter into an alliance with Seuthes. At night they leave the hills, and come down and attack the Greeks who were quartered in their houses. They are at length put to flight, and commit themselves and their effects to the mercy of Seuthes. 198

CHAPTER V.

Heraclides, having sold the booty, returns, but does not give the soldiers their full pay. Whereupon he is reprimanded by Xenophon, who orders that every thing which was set apart for himself should be distributed to the other generals. The faithless Heraclides then endeavours, not only to defame Xenophon before Seuthes, but to deprive him of the command of the army. But in vain; all the other generals refuse to act without him. Seuthes then earnestly desires the Greeks to assist him in an expedition against the inhabitants of the coast of Salmydessus, who enrich themselves by plundering the wrecks of vessels. The Greeks assent, but receive nothing which Seuthes had promised. Then the soldiers are angry with Xenophon, and Seuthes himself avoids all intercourse with him. 201

CHAPTER VI.

The Lacedæmonians invite the Greeks to assist them in a war against Tissaphernes. Neither Seuthes nor the Greeks are averse to the plan. Then a certain Arcadian accuses Xenophon as being the cause of the soldiers not receiving their full pay, and thinks that he should be punished. Xenophon defends himself in a powerful and eloquent address to the troops. He shows first, that the Greeks assisted Seuthes voluntarily, and that, so far from his preventing their receiving the monthly stipulation, he himself received comparatively nothing. He tells them that they ought not to complain, since, without Seuthes, they would not have been able to subsist through the winter, and concludes with saying, that they have not acted gratefully towards him for kindnesses they have received, and that they have been equally unmindful of their former promises of fidelity. Xenophon is defended by Charminus the

Spartan, and Polycrates the Athenian. Seuthes then requests Xenophon to remain with him, with a thousand soldiers. But Xenophon, having offered sacrifices, determines to depart with the army. 204

CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks plunder the villages upon the coast. Medosades, together with an ambassador from Medocus, king of Thrace, comes to Xenophon, and orders him to leave the coast. Xenophon reproaches them with ingratitude, and directs them to go to the ambassadors of the Spartans. These reply that they would depart with the forces. Xenophon, at the request of Medosades, is sent to Seuthes to demand pay for the soldiers. By many arguments he endeavours to convince him, that it would be much better for him to fulfill his promises, and he succeeds. Xenophon gives what he receives to the Spartans, to be distributed among the soldiers. 210

CHAPTER VIII.

After the army had crossed over the Lampsacus, in Asia, Euclides, the soothsayer, advises Xenophon to sacrifice to Jupiter, which he does on the following day. Then, after passing through various places, the army reaches Pergamus in Lydia. Hellas, the mother of Gongylus and Gorgion, persuades Xenophon to attack Asidates. This he does, but the first onset is not successful. The next day the charge is renewed, and with success. Then he returns to Pergamus, and, after having, at the request of all, taken a large part of the booty, delivers the army up to Thimbron. A summary of the route and of the distance marched in the expedition and retreat. 218

TABLE I.
MARCHES, DISTANCES, AND HALTS OF CYRUS AND THE
TEN THOUSAND.

Names of Places.	Number of Marches.	Para- sangs.	Halt- days.
From Sardis to the Mæander River .	3	22	
Colossæ	1	8	7
Celæne	3	20	30
Peltæ	2	10	3
Forum of the Ceramians	2	12	
Caystrus	3	30	5
Thymbrium	2	10	
Tyræum	2	10	3
Iconium	3	20	3
Through Lycaonia	5	30	
Dana (Tyana)	4	25	3
At the Cilician Pass near Tyana .			2
Through it, to Tarsus	4	25	20
Pharus (Sarus) River	2	10	
Pyramus River	1	5	
Issus	2	15	3
Syrian Gates	1	5	
Myriandrus	1	5	7
Daradax River	9	50	
Thapsacus }	3	15	5
Araxes River } *	9	50	3
Corsote	5	35	3
The Pylæ	13	90	
Through Babylonia to the field of bat- tle at Cunaxa,	3 1 1 1	12 3 3 4	

* Thought to be transposed in the text, and that the distances and marches touching these two places should be interchanged.

TABLE II.

MARCHES, DISTANCES, AND HALTS OF THE GREEKS ALONE.

Names of Places.	Number of Marches.	Para-sangs.	Halts-days.
Returned to the former camp at night	1	4	
With Ariæus, northward	1	}	26
Truce Villages	1		
To the Wall of Media	3		
Sitace	2	8	
Opis	4	20	
Zabatus River	11	50	3
To the Carduchian Mountains	15		6
Centrites River	7		1
Teleboas River	6	30	}
Villages where they had the first snow	3	15	
Halt and attack of 'Teribasus' camp .			3
To the Pass	1		}
Eastern Euphrates	3		
Through the snow	3	15	
To the Villages of refreshment	1		8
The Army came in the next day . . .	1		
With the head man of the village . .	3		}
To the river Phasis (the <i>Araxes</i>) . .	7	35	
The fortified post of the Taochians, &c.	2	10	
Taochians' country	5	30	}
Chalybians and to the Harpasus River	7	50	
Through the Scythinians' country . .	4	20	3
Gymnias city	4	20	
Mount Theches (first view of the sea)	5		
Through the Macronian country . . .	3	10	
Sickness, occasioned by the honey			3
To Trapezus	2	7	30
To Cerasus	3		10
Warfare with the Mosynæcians . . .			}
Through the country	8		
Chalybians			
Tibarenians, to Cotyora			

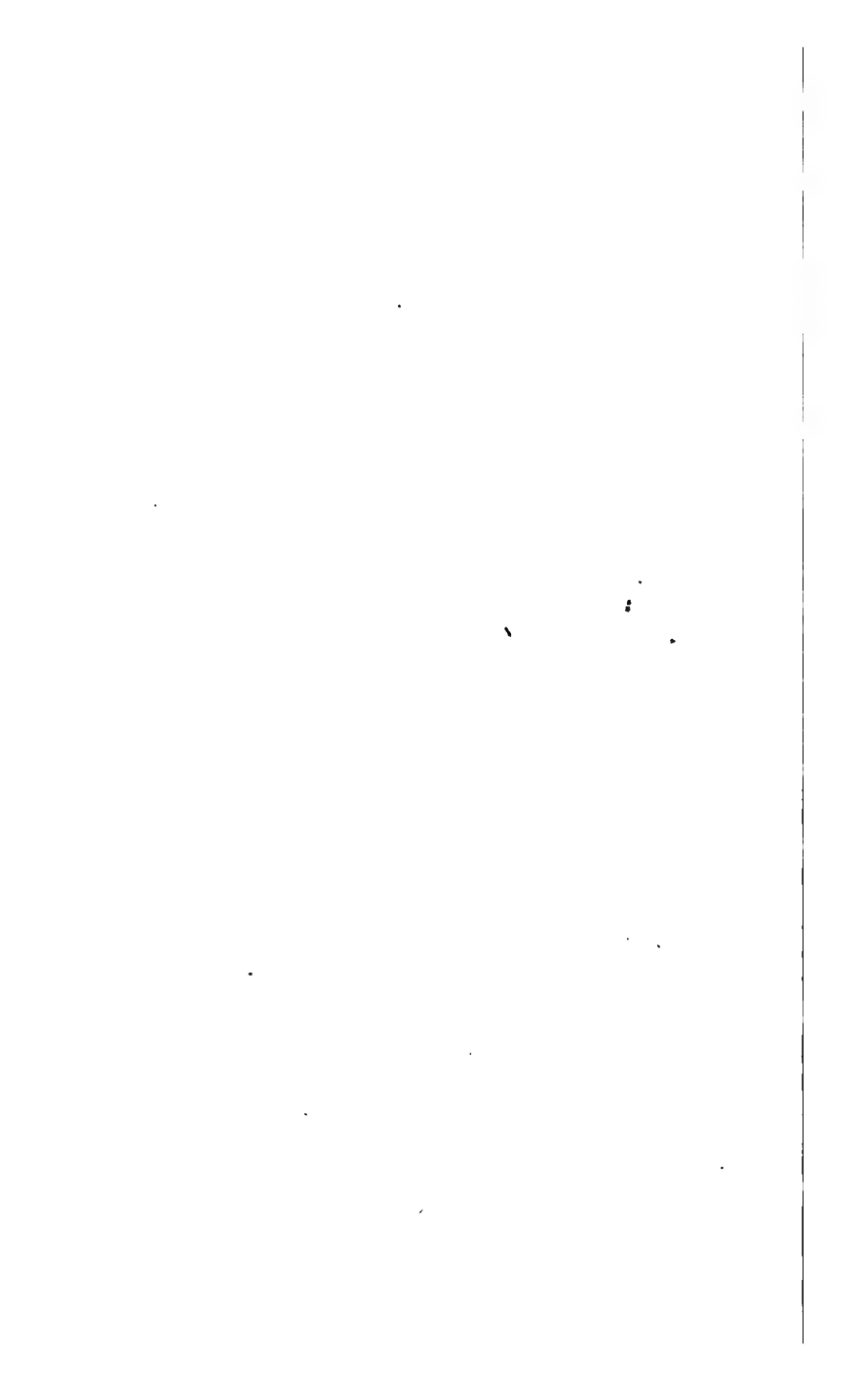
* No distance given.

† In the snow twenty-three days.

‡ Wandering all this time.

§ The only time that the distance is mentioned in the snow

|| All this part appears to be confused or transposed.



ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ.

Κεφάλαιον α'.

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίγνονται παῖδες δύο·
πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κύρος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἤσθιεν Δαρεῖος, καὶ ὑπώπτευσεν τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου, ἐβού-
λετό [οἱ] τῷ πατρὶ ἀμφοτέρῳ παρῆναι. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρε-
σβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγγανε· Κύρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς
ἀρχῆς, ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐ-
τὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων, ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίων ἀθροίζον-
ται. Ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κύρος, λαβὼν Τισσαφέρην ὡς φί-
λον· καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους,
10 ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παφιάσιον.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος, καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βα-
σιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρης διαβάλλει τὸν Κύρον πρὸς
τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ πείθεται τε καὶ
συλλαμβάνει Κύρον, ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ, ἔξαιτη
15 σαμένη αὐτὸν, ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Ὁ δ' ὡς
ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθίς, βουλευεται, ὅπως μί-
ποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύ-
σει αὐτ' ἐκείνου. Παρυσάτις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ
Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρ-
20 ξην. Ὅστις δ' ἀφικνοῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλείας πρὸς αὐτόν,

πάντας οὕτω διατιθεῖς ἀπεπέμπετο, ὥςθ' ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. Καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπιμελεῖτο, ὥς πολεμῆν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν, καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. Τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζεν, ὥς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον ἴσχυτο λαβοῖ βασιλεία. Ὡς οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν ὅποσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις, λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὥς ἐπιβουλευόντος Τισσαφέρνης ταῖς πόλεσι. Καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνης τὸ 10 ἀρχαῖον, ἐκ βασιλείως δεδομένα· τότε δ' ἀφιστήκεισαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι, πλὴν Μιλήτου· ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης, προαἰσθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους [ἀποστέλλει πρὸς Κῦρον,] τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα, ἐπολιόρκει Μιλήτον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατὰγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπιτωκότας. Καὶ αὕτη αὐτῷ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροῖσθαι στράτευμα. Πρὸς δὲ βασιλεία πέμπων, ἤξιον, ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ, δοθῆναί οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρνην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν· 20 καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα, ὥστε βασιλεὺς τῆς μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐκ ἡσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνην δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα διαπαντ· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλε- 25 ων, ὧν Τισσαφέρνης ἐτύγχανεν, ἔχων.

Ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα συνέλεγτο αὐτῷ ἐν Χερρόνησῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου, τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγάς· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος, ἡγάσθη τε αὐτόν, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικούς. Ὁ δὲ 30 λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον, στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει, ἐκ Χερρόνησου ὁρμώμενος, τοῖς Θοράξι τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἀφείλε τοὺς

Ἑλλήνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα ^{Conclutur} συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφήν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησπορικαὶ πόλεις ἐκοῦσαι. Τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατεύμα. Ἀριστίππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ἐτύγγαγε ξένος ὢν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κύρον, καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς διςχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ἃς οὕτω περιγενησόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ ἑξ μηνῶν μισθόν· καὶ δείκται αὐτοῦ, μὴ ^{Conclutur} 10 πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευσῇται. Οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στρατεύμα. Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίον, ξένον ὄντα αὐτῷ, ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὥς ἐπὶ Πεισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύ- 15 εσθαι, ὥς πράγματα παρεχόντων [τῶν] Πεισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον, καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιοόν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὥς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. Καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτως 20 οὗτοι.

Κεφάλαιον β'.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἰδόκει αὐτῷ ἤδη πορεύεσθαι ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο, ὥς Πεισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὥς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικόν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐνταῦθα στρατεύμα· καὶ 25 παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ, λαβόντι ἥκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στρατεύμα· καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίπῳ ^{Conclutur} συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι, ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στρατεύμα· καὶ Ξενία τῷ Ἀρκαδί, ὃς αὐτῷ ^{Conclutur} προειστέχει του ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παρήγγειλε, λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας, πλὴν ὁπό- 30 σοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. Ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκ-

λευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ᾧ εὐστρατεύετο, μὴ προσθεῖν πάνσεσθαι, πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαθε. Οἱ δὲ ἡδίως ἐπέθοντο· ἐπίστατον γὰρ αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα, παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τῶς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις, ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν, ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνητάς δὲ πεντακοσίους· Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος, ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους· Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιοῦς, ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους· Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μιγαριεύς εἰς 10 τριακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατενομένων. Οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ, κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πεισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πο- 15 ρεῖται ὡς βασιλεῖα, ἣ ἰδύνατο τάχιστα, ἱππίας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. Καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνηος τὸν Κύρον στόλον ἀντιπαροσκευάζετο.

Κύρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἶπον, ὥρματο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀνδρίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἰκο- 20 σι καὶ δύο, ἐπὶ τὸν Μαλανδρον ποταμόν. Τοῦτου τὸ εὐρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὶν ἐξενυγμένη πλοίοις ἐπτά. Τοῦτον διαβὰς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κελοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἦκε 25 Μίνων ὁ Θετταλός, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. Ἐν- τεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἰκοσιν εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐ- 30 δαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παραδείσιος 30 μίγας, ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ᾧ ἐκείνος ἐθήρουν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὁπότε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵπ- 35 πους. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαλανδρος πο-

ταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πέλειως. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλείως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ, ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκρόπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτός·
 5 διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαλανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶν ἑξοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. Ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσῶν, νικήσας ἐρῶντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δῆρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ, ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσίου·
 10 ας. Ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλάδος ἤτηθεῖς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κύρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγὰς, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ πελταστὰς Θοῤῃκας ὀκτακο-
 15 σίους, καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ Σωσίτας παρῆν ὁ Συρακούσιος, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκάς, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κύρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες, ὀπλῖται μὲν ρύριοι καὶ
 20 χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς διςχιλίους.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκάς τὰ Λύκαϊα ἔθυσσε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν
 25 ἀγῶνα καὶ Κύρος. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δώδεκα εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς Καῦστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ
 30 τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθὸς πλεον ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν· καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπῆτουν. Ὁ δὲ ἑλπίδας λέγων διεῖγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κῦρου τρόπου, ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι.

Ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα, ἡ Συνενέσιος γυνή, τοῦ Κίλικων βασιλέως, παρὰ Κῦρον· καὶ ἐλέγεται Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. Τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. Εἶχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ υἱήν, Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενθίους· ἐλέγεται δὲ καὶ συ- 5 γενέσθαι Κῦρον τῇ Κίλισσῃ. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάννει σταθμούς δύο παρασύγγας δέκα εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη, τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως· ἐφ' ἣ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι, οἷφ' κεράσας αὐτήν. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξε- 10 λάννει σταθμούς δύο παρασύγγας δέκα εἰς Τυριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην· ἔνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς. Καὶ λέγεται δεσθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου, ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἑλλη- 15 νας, ὡς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξαι δὲ ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. Ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· τὸ δ' ἐὼνυμον, Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου· τὸ δὲ μέσον, οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. Ἐθώρει οὖν ὁ Κύρος πρῶτον 20 μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρήλασσον τεταγμένοι κατ' ἕλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελάντων ἐφ' ἄρματος, καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης. Εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ, καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικοῦς, καὶ κνημίδας, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαθαρμένας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας παρή- 25 λασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἐπήεσαν. Ἐκ δὲ τού- 30 του θάπτον προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφν-

γεν ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες
τὰ ὄνια ἔφυγον· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκη-
νὰς ἦλθον. Ἢ δὲ Κίλισσα, ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ
τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐθαύμαζε. Κῦρος δὲ ἦσθη,
6 τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδών.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἰκοσιν
εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε
τρεῖς ἡμέρας. Ἐντεῦθεν διελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας
σταθμούς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. Ταύτην τὴν χώ-
10 ραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὥς πολέμῳ οὖσαν.
Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Κῦρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει
τὴν ταχύτεν ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας, οὓς
Μένων εἶχε, καὶ αὐτόν [Μένωνα τὸν Θεσσαλόν.] Κῦρος δὲ
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμούς τέτ-
15 ταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Λάναν, πόλιν
οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν
ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, Με-
γαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασιλεῖον, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρ-
χων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. Ἐντεῦθεν
20 ἐπειρώντο ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁ-
δὸς ἀμαξιτός, ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρα-
τεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσις εἶναι
ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, φυλάτιων τὴν εἰσβολήν· δι' ὃ ἔμεινε ἡμέ-
ραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων, ὅτι
25 λελοιπῶς εἶη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἦσθητο τό τε Μένωνος
στράτευμα ὅτι ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ εἶη εἰσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι
τριτῆρις ἦκουε περιπλεύσας ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν, Τα-
μῶν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. Κῦρος
δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς
30 σκηνάς, οὗ ἐφύλαττον οἱ Κίλικες. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαιναν
εἰς πεδῖον μέγα, καλὸν καὶ ἐπιφύτον, καὶ δένδρων παντο-
δαπῶν ἔμπλειον καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ
μυλὴν καὶ κίχρον καὶ πυρούς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. Ὅρος

δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρόν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

Καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου, ἤλασε σταθμούς τέσσαρας πυρασάγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς Ταρσοὺς, πόλιν τῆς Κιλικίας μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασιλεία, τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμός, Κύνθος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλεθρῶν. Ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες, μετὰ Συεννέσιος, εἰς χωρίον ὄχυρόν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχοντες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσοῦσι. Ἐπύαζα δὲ, ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνή, πρότερά Κύρου πέντε ἡμέρας εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβυλῇ τῶν ὁρέων τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίου, δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωρος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν, ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλικίων, οἱ δὲ, ὑπολειφθέντας 15 καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς, εἴτα πλανομένους ἀπωλέσθαι· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὀπλῖται. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπειδὴ ἦκον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δὲ, ἐπεὶ 20 εἰςῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο Συνέννεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὃ δὲ οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενὶ πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφη, οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἵνα ἡθελε, πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε, καὶ πίστις ἔλαβε. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συνέννεσις μὲν Κύρῳ ἔδωκε χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κύρος δ' ἐκείνῳ δῶρα, ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλλια καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἥρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἣν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν. 25

Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινε Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵνα τοῦ πρόσω· ἰπώ-
 πτεον γὰρ ἦδη ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ἵνα· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ ἔφασαν. Πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώ-
 5 τας ἐδιδάξετο ἵνα· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε ἔβαλλον, καὶ τὰ ὑπο-
 ζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προΐναί. Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε
 μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε τοῦ μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι· ὅστιρον δέ,
 ἐπεὶ ἔγνω, ὅτι οὐ δύνησεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλη-
 σίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε
 10 πολὺν χρόνον ἐστώς· οἱ δὲ ὀρώοντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώ-
 πων· εἴτα ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

“Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μή θαυμάζετε, ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω
 τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. Ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κῦρος ξένος ἐγένετο,
 καὶ με, φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτίμιζε,
 15 καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε θαιρεικούς· οὓς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ
 ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοί, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων. Καὶ πρῶ-
 τον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλ-
 λάδος ἐτιμωροῦμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρόνησον αὐτοὺς
 ἐξελαύνων, βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἑλ-
 20 ληνας τὴν γῆν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς
 ἐπορευόμην, ἵνα εἴ τι δέοιτο, ὠφελολὴν αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ὧν
 εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμ-
 πορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι, ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου
 φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι, ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευσάμενον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰ-
 25 ναι. Εἰ μὲν δὴ δίκαια ποιήσω, οὐκ οἶδα· αἰρήσομαι δ'
 οὐκ ὑμᾶς, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ὃ τι ἂν δέη πείσομαι. Καὶ οὐ-
 ποτ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὡς ἐγὼ Ἕλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβά-
 ρους, προδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἰλό-
 μην. Ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐθέετε πείθεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἔπει-
 30 σθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔσομαι, καὶ ὃ τι ἂν δέη πείσομαι.

Νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ
 συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν εἶναι τίμιος, ὅπου ἂν ὦ-
 ὑμῶν δ' ἐρημωθεῖς, οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι, οὔτ' ἂν φίλον
 ὠφελῆσαι, οὔτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλεξασθαι. Ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος,
 ὅπη ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὕτω τὴν γνῶμην ἔχετε." Ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δ'
 δὲ στρατιῶται, οἳ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἀκού-
 σαντες, ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλείᾳ πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν·
 παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δις χίλιοι, λαβόντες
 τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλε-
 άρχῳ. Κῦρος δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος, μετε- 10
 πέμπειτο τὸν Κλέαρχον· ὁ δ' ἵεναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθιλε, λάθρα δὲ
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον, ἔλεγε θαρσύνειν, ὥς
 καταστησόμενων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον· μεταπέμπεσθαι δ'
 ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἵεναι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 συναγαγὼν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς προςελ- 15
 θόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοιαῦτα·

"Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως
 ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥς περ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνον· οὔτε γὰρ
 ἡμεῖς ἔτι ἐκείνου στρατιῶται, ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ,
 οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἡμῖν ἔτι μισθ. δότης. "Ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι 20
 νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν, οἶδα· ὥς τε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ
 οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, αἰσχυρόμενος, ὅτι σύννοι-
 दा ἑμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δεδιώς,
 μὴ λαβὼν με δίκην ἐπιθῇ, ὣν νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡδικῆσθαι.
 Ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν, οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν 25
 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθαι, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων.
 Καὶ εἴτε μένομεν αὐτοῦ, σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅπως ὥς
 ἀσφαλέστατα μένομεν· εἴτε δὴ δοκεῖ ἀπεινᾶν, ὅπως ὥς
 ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτίδεια ἔξομεν· ἄνευ
 γὰρ τούτων οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ιδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. 30
 Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος, ὃ ἂν φίλος ἢ χαλεπώ-
 τatos δ' ἐχθρός, ὃ ἂν πολέμιος ἢ. Ἔτι δὲ δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ
 πεζὴν καὶ ἵππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν, ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὀρωμέν

τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι· ὥστε ὥρα λέγειν ὃ τί τις γιγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι.” Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἐπαύσατο.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λίξον-
 5 τες, ἃ ἐγίγνωσκον· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκελεύστοι, φει-
 δεικνύντες, οἷα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία, ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ
 μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. Εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, πρὸς ἰσχυρομένους σπεύ-
 δειν ὡς τάχιστα πορευέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, “στρατηγὸς
 μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος
 10 ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράσασθαι (ἡ δ' ἀγορά ἦν ἐν τῷ
 βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι), καὶ συσκευάσασθαι. Ἀθροίας δὲ
 Κύρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῶ ταῦτα,
 ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κύρον, ὅστις ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπά-
 ξει· ἐὰν δὲ μὴδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῶ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην·
 15 πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ
 φθάσωσι μήτε ὁ Κίρος, μήτε οἱ Κίλικες, καταλαβόντες, ὧν
 πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνθρώποις.” Οὗτος
 μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τούτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσούτον·
 “Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσονται ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς
 20 ὑμῶν λέγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ, δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ πωλη-
 τέον· ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὃν ἂν ἐλησθε, πείσομαι ἢ δυνατόν
 μάλιστα· ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, ὡς τις
 καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων.” Μετὰ δὲ τούτον ἄλλος ἀνέ-
 στη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κειν-
 25 οντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν [τὸν] στόλον Κύρου μὴ ποιοῦμένου·
 ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ, “ὡς εὐθεὶς εἶη, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου,
 ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. Εἰ δὲ τι καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πι-
 στεύσομεν, ᾧ ἂν Κύρος διδῶ, τί κωλύει, καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῶν
 κειλεύειν Κύρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοῖν μὲν
 30 ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν, ἃ ἡμῶν δόλη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς
 ταῖς τριήρεσι κατὰ δύσιν· φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι, ᾧ
 [ἂν] δόλη, ἐπισθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ, ὅθεν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔσται
 ἐλθεῖν· βουλοίμην δ' ἂν, ἄκοτος ἀπὼν Κύρου, λαθεῖν

αὐτὸν ἀπελθών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν. Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε φημί, ταῦτα μὲν φλναρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κύρον, οἵτινες ἐπιτήδεοι, σὺν Κλεάρχῳ, ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνον, τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡ πράξις ἢ παρμπλησία, οἴαπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπειθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων· εἰ μὲν δὲ μείζων ἡ πράξις, τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνεται, καὶ ἐπιπικνωτέρα, καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα, ἄξιον, ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἄγειν, ἢ ἡμῶν πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφείναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποιέμεθα, καὶ ἀπλέοντες, ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπείοιμεν· ὃ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι δεῦρο· ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι." Ἐδοξε ταῦτα· καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν, οἱ ἡρώτων Κύρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. Ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, "ὅτι ἀκούοι Ἀβροκόμαν, ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπὶ 18 τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τούτον οὖν" ἔφη "βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· καὶ μὲν ἢ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην" ἔφη "χρηῖεν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ· ἣν δὲ φεύγῃ, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα." Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἰρετοί, ἀναγγέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις. Τοῖς δὲ ὑποφία μὲν 20 ἦν, ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς βασιλεία, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἔπειθαι· προσαιτούσαι δὲ μισθόν. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιόλιον· πᾶσι δώσειν, οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρεικά τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δ' ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ἄγοι, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθ' ἤκουεν οὐδεὶς ἐν τῷ τότε φανερώς. 25

Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Σάρον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλεθρα. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμόν ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμόν, οὗ τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἰσοῦς, τῆς 30

Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρήσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. ^{ἦλθον δ' αὐτῶν Ταμῶς, Αἰγύπτιος, καὶ Ἐφέσιος, ἔχοντες} ναῦς ἑτέρας Κύρῳ· πέντε καὶ ἑκοσίαι· αἷς ἐπολιόρχει Μιλησιον, ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλῃ ᾗν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. Πυρὴν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἐπτακοσίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἐντρατῆγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. Αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουσι κατὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κύρον, τετρακόσιοι ὀκλήται, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. Ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τεῖχη· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συέννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικῶν φυλακὴ· τὰ δ' ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τούτων ῥεῖ ποταμός, Κύρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλῆθρον. Ἄπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τευχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βία· ἦν γὰρ ἡ παράδος στενὴ, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεῖν δὲ ἦσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τεύχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφεισθήκεσαν πύλαι. Ταύτης οὖν ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κύρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποβιβάσεις εἴσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις· ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσῃν τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν ὁ Κύρος, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουε Κύρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλείᾳ ἀπηλαύνειν, ἔρχεται, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε εἰς Μυριάνδρον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ

τῇ θηλαίῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλαί. ^{ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ} Ἐνταῦθ' ἤμειναν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ Ξένιος ὁ Ἀρκάς, στρατηγός, καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς, ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον, καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἀξία ἐνδύμενοι, ἀπέπλευσαν, ὡς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκουν, φιλοτιμηθέντες, ^{ἵνα} τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν, τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας, ὡς ἀπλέοντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλείᾳ, εἶα Κύρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἦσαν ἀφανείς, διήλθε λόγος, ὅτι διόκοι αὐτοὺς Κύρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐχοντο, ὡς δολλοὺς ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι· οἱ δ' ἰσχυριζοντο, εἰ ἀλώσειντο.

Κύρος δέ, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς, εἶπεν· “Ἀπολειπαῖν ἡμᾶς Ξένιος καὶ Πασίων· ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν, ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅση οὐχονται· οὔτε ἀποπεφύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις, ὥστε ἐλεῖν αὐτὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον. Ἀλλά, μὰ τοὺς θεούς, οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω· οὐδὲ ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὡς ἐγὼ ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις χροῖμα, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀπέναι βούληται, συλλαβῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ, καὶ τὰ χρημάτων ἀποσουλῶ. Ἀλλὰ ἰόντων [ἂν] εἰδότες, ὅτι κακίους εἶσι περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. Καίτοι ἔγωγε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν Τράλλεσι φρονδύμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται· ἀλλ' ἀπολήφονται, τῆς πρόσθεν ἐνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς.” Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ ἀνυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν, ἡδύναι καὶ προθυμότερον ἰσυνεπορεύοντο.

Μετὰ [δὲ] ταῦτα Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἰκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμόν, ὅντα τὸ εὖρος πλείθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ ἡραίων, οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον, καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶων, οὐδὲ τὰς περὶ ῥιστεράς. Αἱ δὲ κῶμαι, ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν, Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζώνην δεδομένα. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δαρράδα-

There is neither food nor water in the valley

There is neither food nor water in the valley

κος ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλείθρου. Ἐταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ
Βελήσσος βασιλεια, τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδειος
πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλός, ἔχων πάντα, ὅσα ὡραὶ φθονοῖ. *sc. adu
medice*
Κῦρος δ' αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε, καὶ τὰ βασιλεια κατέκτανεν.

8 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάνθει σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεν-
καίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος τεττά-
ρων σταδίων· καὶ πόλις αὐτοῦτι ὠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαι-
μων, Θάψακος ὀνόματι. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας πέντε·
καὶ Κῦρος μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων

10 ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλεία μέγαν, εἰς Βαβυ-
λῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις,
καὶ ἀναπεῖθαι ἐπεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν, ἀ-
πήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐχαλῆπαν τοῖς στρα-
τηγαῖς, καὶ ἔφασαν, αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτα εἰδότες ^{κεφαλ. ε' σ'.} κρητύνειν.

10 καὶ οὐκ ἔφρασαν ἵνα, ἂν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ^{ἐκείνη}χημᾶτα διδῷ, ὡς-
περ καὶ τοῖς πρότερον μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβῆαι παρὰ τὸν πα-
τέρα τοῦ Κυρου· καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ
καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κυρου. Ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρου
ἀπήγγελλον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο, ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε

29 ἀργυρίου μνᾶς, ἐπὶν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν
ἐντέλῃ, μέχρις ἂν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πύλιν.

Τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπέειπεν. Μένων
δὲ, πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι, τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται,
πότερον ἔσονται Κύρῳ ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὐτοῦ στρατεύμα
χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε·

“Ἄνδρες, εἰς ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, οὔτε κινδυνεύσαντες, οὔτε πονήσαντες, τῶν ἄλλων ἥλιον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κέρου. Τί οὖν κελύω ποιῆσαι; Νῦν δεῖται Κύρος ἔπεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ· ἐγὼ οὖν φημί, ὑμᾶς

20 χρῆται διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, πρὶν ὅτι ὁ ἅλλος Ἕλληνες ἀποχρηθῶνται Κύρῳ. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφισμένοι ἐπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν· καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις ὑμῖν οὖσι χάριν εἴσται

rough will be much more highly valued

⁴ "The ... of the ... " will be ...

Κῦρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· [ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος]·
 ἣν δ' ἀποψήφισάνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἅπιμεν μὲν πάντες εἰς τοῦμ-
 παλιν· ὑμῖν δέ, ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις, πιστοτάτοις χρή-
 σεται καὶ εἰς φρουράς καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας καὶ ἄλλου οὔτινος
 ἂν δέησθε, οἶδα, ὅτι ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε Κῦρου." Ἀκού-
 σαντες ταῦτα ἐπειθόντο καὶ διέβησαν, πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἦσθη
 τε, καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμπας Γλοῦν, εἶπεν· "Εγὼ μὲν,
 ὦ ἄνδρες, ἦδη ὑμᾶς ἐκαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμέ ἐκαι-
 νέσετε, ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κῦρον νομίζετε." Οἱ μὲν 10
 δὴ στρατιῶται, ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλας ὄντες, εὐχοντο αὐτὸν εὐ-
 τυγῆναι· Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμπει μεγαλοπρε-
 πῶς. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ
 ἄλλο στρατεύμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν· καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν
 ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρίχθη ἀνὰ τῶν τῶν μασσῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ 15
 ποταμοῦ. Οἱ δὲ Θασακηνοὶ ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐ πώποθ' οὗτος
 ὁ ποταμὸς διαβάτος γένοιτο πέσῃ, εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλὴν
 οἷς· ἂν τότε Ἀβροκόμας προῖων κατεφάνει, ἵνα μὴ Κῦρος
 διαβῇ. Ἐδόκει δὲ θεῖον εἶναι, καὶ σαφὲς υποχρεῖσθαι τὸν
 ποταμὸν Κῦρι, ὡς βασιλεύσονται. 20
 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα πα-
 ρασάγγας πενήκοντα, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην
 ποταμόν. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαί, μεσαιαί οἱ τοῦ καὶ
 οἶνον. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεισιτίσαντο.

Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας, τὸν Εὐφράτην πο- 25
 ταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας
 τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ
 πεδῖον ἅπαν ὁμαλὸν ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πλήρες·

- being run at, and shot at
 + missed the chance concerning an assault with
 their horses

Κεφ. ε'.]

ΚΤΡΟΤ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

17

εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνὴν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐ-
 ὠδή, ὥσπερ ἄρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνὴν. Θηρία δὲ
 παντοῖα, πλείστοι μὲν ὄνοι ^{ἄγριοι, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ στρουθοὶ}
 αἱ μεγάλοι· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ
 5 τὰ θηρία οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐδίωκον ἐνίοτε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ
 τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἂν εἰστήκεσαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν
 ἱππῶν θᾶπτον ἔτρεχον· καὶ πάλιν ἐπεὶ πλησιάζουσιν οἱ ἱπ-
 ποι, ταὐτὸν ἐποιοῦν· καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ ^{σταθμῶν} διαστάντες
 οἱ ἱππεῖς θηρᾶν διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἱπποῖς. Τὰ δὲ κρία
 10 τῶν ἀλικομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἀπαλότερα
 δέ. Στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἱπ-
 πῶν ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέσπα ἀποφεύγουσα,
 τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν, ἄρσα, ὥσπερ ἰστίῳ
 χρωμένη. Τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας, ἂν τις ταχὺ ἀνίστη, ἔστι λαμβά-
 15 νειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχύ, ὥσπερ πέριδικες, καὶ ταχὺ ἀπα-
 γορεύουσι. Τὰ δὲ κρία αὐτῶν ἡδιστα ἦν.

Πόρευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνουῦνται ἐπὶ
 τὸν Μασκαῖν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν
 πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιεφθί-
 20 το δὲ αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μασκαῖ κύκλῳ. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡ-
 μέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθ-
 μοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς καὶ δέκα παρασάγγας ἐνεπήκοντα τὸν
 Εὐφράτην ποταμόν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας.
 Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπώλετο
 25 ὑπὸ [τοῦ] λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος, οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον
 οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ ἐνοικούντες
 ὄνους ἀλείτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες,
 εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἤγον καὶ ἐπώλουν, καὶ ἀνταγοράζοντες οἶτον
 ἔχων. Τὸ δὲ στρατεύμα ὁ οἶτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι
 30 οὐκ ἦν, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῇ Κύρου βαρβαρι-
 κῇ, τὴν καπλίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σίγλων· Ὅ
 δὲ σίγλος δύναιται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιόβολιον Ἀττικόν·
 ἡ δὲ καπλίθη δύο χοίτικας Ἀττικόν ἐκφέρει. Κρία οὖν ἐ-

for it withdrawn & a great deal of time
 in the time of the war

σθλιότες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. ^{continues} Ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν
 σταθμῶν ὅς τις πᾶν μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὁπότε ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ
 βούλοιο διατελεῖν ἢ πρὸς χιλόν. Καὶ δὴ ποτε στεννο-
 ρίως καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου, ἐπέβη
 ὁ Κύρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστά-
 τοις, καὶ ἔταξε Ἰλοῦν καὶ Πύργητα, λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβα-
 ρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεκβεβῆσθαι τὰς ἀμάξας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν
 αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥς περ ὄρχη ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐ-
 τὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους, συνεπισπένειν τὰς ἀμάξας.
 Ἐνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς ἐτασίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. Ῥίπαντες 10
 γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροῦς κανόνας, ὅπου ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν ἰσθηκῶς
 ἔειπτο, ὥς περ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης, καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρό-
 ἴητος γηλόφου, ἔχοιτες τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας,
 καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρέπτοὺς περὶ
 τοῖς τραχήλοις, καὶ ψέλλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθύς δὲ σὺν 15
 τούτοις ἐκπρόδυσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλόν, θᾶπτον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν
 φέτο, μεταίωρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. Τὸ δὲ σὺν πάν-
 τηλος ἦν Κύρος ὥς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ οὐ δια-
 τρίζων, ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἔνεκα ἢ τινὸς ἄλλου ἀναγκα-
 σθὲν ἐκαθεζέτο· γομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν ἂν θᾶπτον ἔλθοι, τοσού- 20
 τῳ ἀπαρσκειναι τοτὶν βασιλεῖ μαχεσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαιό-
 τερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον βασιλεῖ συναγείρεσθαι στράτευμα.
 Καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἢ βασιλεὺς
 ἀρχὴ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ
 μήκει τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπασθῆναι τὰς θυνάρεις αὐτο- 25
 νῆς, εἴ τις οὐκ ταχέως τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο.

Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους
 σταθμούς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρ-
 μάδη· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται, ἡρόδοτον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,
 σχεδύαις διαβαλόντες ὧδε· Διφθέρως, ὃς εἶχον σκεπάσμα- 30
 τα, ἐπιμπλασαν χόρτου κούφον, εἰτα συνήγον καὶ συνεσπών,
 ὥς μὴ ἀπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διαβαί-
 νον, καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου

being disputed about something - having decided the
Meno's soldier was in the wrong

Κεφ. ε'.]

ΚΤΡΟΤ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

19

πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος, καὶ οἶτον μέλινος·
τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλείστον.

Ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρα-
τιωτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεάρχου, ὃ Κλέαρχος, κρίνας ἀδικεῖν
τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος, πλεῖστας ἐνεβάλεν· ὁ δ' ἔλθων πρὸς τὸ
ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα ἐλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐχα-
λέπαινον, καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. Τῇ δ' αὐτῇ
ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος, ἔλθων ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ
ἐκεῖ κατασκεψάμενος τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀφίππενει πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ
αὐτόν. [Κῦρος δ' οὐπω ἦκεν] ἀλλ' ἐτι προσήλανε τῶν δὲ

Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σιλήων τις, ὡς εἶδε τὸν Κλέαρχον
διελαυνόντα, ἵππῃ τῇ αἰνῇ καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν·
ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ καὶ ἄλλος, εἰτα πολλοί, κραυγῆς γενομένης.

15 Ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα, καὶ εὐθύς πα-
ραγγελλεῖ εἰς τὰ ὅπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἐκέλευσεν αὐ-
τοῦ μείναι, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας· αὐτὸς δὲ
λαβὼν τοὺς Θοράκας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, οἱ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ
στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, [τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείστοι

20 Θοράκες], ἤλυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστε ἐκείνους ἐκτε-
πλήχθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. Οἱ
δὲ καὶ ἴστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι. Ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος
(ἔτυχε γὰρ ὑστερος προσιών, καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν
ὀπλιτῶν) εὐθύς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων, εὐτετο

23 τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ εἰδεῖτο τοῦ Κλεάρχου, μὴ ποιεῖν τρῦτα. Ὁ δὲ
ἐγαλέπατο, ὅτι, αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλυσθῆναι,
πρῶτος λέγει τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος ἐκείνῳ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέ-
σου ἐξίστασθαι. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπῆει καὶ Κῦρος καὶ ἐπύ-
θετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθύς δὲ ἔλαβε τὰ παλὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας,

20 καὶ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν ἦκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον,
καὶ λέγει ὧδε· “Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ πα-
ρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε, ὃ τι ποιεῖτε. Εἰ γὰρ τινα ἀλλή-
λοις μάχην συνάφετε, νομίζετε, ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμὲ τε κα-

Came to the place
with the soldiers to that place and saw him.

will be instantly cut & he was

τακεκοφασθαι, καὶ ἑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἑμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων, πάντες οὗτοι, οὓς ὁράτε, βάρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔγενετο· καὶ πανσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι, κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα.

Κεφάλαιον 5'.

Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων, ἐφαίνετο ἰχθία ἵππων καὶ κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δὲ εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὥς διςχιλίων ἵππων. Οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὁρόντης δέ, Πέρσης ἄνθρωπος, γένοι τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν, ἐπιβουλεύει το Κῦρῳ, καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας, καταλλαγείς δέ. Οὗτος Κῦρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ, αὐτῷ δολίῃ ἱππείας χιλίου, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἱππείας ἢ κατακανοὶ ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας, ἢ ζώντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔλοι, καὶ κωλύσεις τοῦ καλεῖν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσεις, ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ Κίρου στρατεύμα, βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. Τῷ δὲ Κῦρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἰδοὺς ὡφέλιμα εἶναι· καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων.

Ὁ δὲ Ὁρόντης, νομίσας ἐτοιμοὺς αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς ἱππείας, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα, ὅτι ἤξοι ἔχων ἱππείας ὥς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππεῦσιν ἐκέλευεν, ὥς φέλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. Ἐνῆν δ' ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὥς ᾔετο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κῦρῳ δίδωσιν. Ἀναγνὼν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κῦρος, συλλαμβάνει Ὁρόντην, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Περσῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτά· καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγούς ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίη-

σαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχίλους ὀπλίτας. Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἰσὼ παρέκαλεσε σύμβουλον, ὃς καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξήλθεν, ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. Ἐφη δὲ Κῦρον ἄρχειν τοῦ

λόγου ὧδε·
Παρεκαλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος, ὃ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντου τούτου. Τούτον γὰρ πρῶτον

10 μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ἀκούοντες μοι εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοί, ἔγων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα, ὥστε δοῦναι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα. Μετὰ

15 ταῦτα," ἔφη, "ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν, ὃ τί σε ἡδίκησα;" Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὐ. Πάλιν ὁ Κῦρος ἠρώτα· "Οὐκοῦν ὕπαρχον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, ἀποσταὺς εἰς Μυσσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίηεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὃ τι ἐδύναω;"

Ἐφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, "ὅποι' αὐ ἐγὼ τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος βωμόν, μεταμέλεις τέ σοι ἔφησθα, καὶ πείσας ἐμέ, πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι, καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ;" Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμολόγει ὁ Ὀρόντης. "Τί οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, "ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, γυν

20 τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλευῶν μοι φανερός γέγονας;" Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτόν· "Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν, περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι;" Ἡ

25 *κεῖδι* γὰρ ἀνάγκη," ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. Ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος· "Ἐτι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ φίλος καὶ πιστός;" Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι "οὐδ' εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κῦρε, σοὶ γ' ἂν ἔτι ποτὶ δόξαιμι."

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν· "Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην, ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ." Κλέαρ-

χος δὲ εἶπε τάδε· “ Συμβουλευώ ἐγώ, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκ-
 πωδὼν ποιέεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα· ὡς μακίτι δέη τοῦτον φυλάτ-
 τεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολή ἢ ἡμῖν, τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, τοὺς ἐθε-
 λοντάς φίλους τούτους ἐν ποιεῖν.” Ταύτη δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. Μετὰ ταῦτα, κειμένους Κύν-
 ρου, ἐλάβοντο τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόντην ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἅπαντες
 ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δὲ ἐξήγον αὐτὸν οἷς προς-
 ετάχθη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἵπερ πρόσθεν προσκύνουν,
 καὶ τότε προσκύνησαν, καί περ εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
 ἄγοιτο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτα σκηπὴν εἰσῆλθῃ, τοῦ
 πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρῳ σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα
 Ὀρόντην, οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς πώποτε εἶδεν, οὐδ’ ὅπως
 ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς· ἔλεγεν· ἔκαστον δ’ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τά-
 φος δ’ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.

Κεφάλαιον ζ΄.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς
 παρασάγγας δώδεκα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κύρος ἐξε-
 τασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ
 περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἰδόκει γάρ, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω ἤξειν
 βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχομένον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέ-
 αρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετ-
 τάλων τοῦ εὐωνύμου· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταττε. Μετὰ
 δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ὅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτόμολοι παρὰ με-
 γάλου βασιλείως ἤκοντες ἀπήγγελλον Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασι-
 λέως στρατιᾶς. Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ
 λοχαγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, συνεβουλευέτο τε, πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην
 ποιοίτο, καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρβύνων τοιαύδε· “ Ὡς ἄνδρες
 Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς
 ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων, ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρ-
 βάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. Ὅπως οὖν

ὦ Κύρε, μαχεῖσθαι τὸν ἀδελφόν;," " *Νή Δί',*" ἔφη ὁ Κύρος,
" εἴπερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος ἐστὶ παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς
δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἄμαχ' αὖ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λήψομαι."

Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλιστῇ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν
Ἑλλήνων ἄσπ'ς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία· πελτασταὶ δὲ 5
διεχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι· τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων
δύκα μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑκοσι.
Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑκοσι μυριάδες,
καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐξα-
κισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν· οὗτοι δὲ πρὸ αὐ- 10
τοῦ βασιλείως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλείως στρα-
τεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες [καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες]
τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τις-
σαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. Τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο
ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα 15
ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· Ἀβροκόμας γὰρ ὑστέρησε τῆς μά-
χης ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. Ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγελ-
λον πρὸς Κύρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ
μεγάλου βασιλείως πρὸ τῆς μάχης· καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οἱ
ὑστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων, ταῦτα ἡγγελλον. Ἐν- 20
τεῦθεν δὲ Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας τρεῖς
συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ
τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ὥςτε γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλεῖα·
κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βα-
θεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυαὶ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυαὶ 25
τρεῖς. Παρετίετο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ
δώδεκα παρασάγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. Ἐνθα δὲ
εἰσὶν αἱ διώρυχες ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ φέουσιν· εἰσὶ
δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς,
καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγὰ· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν 30
Εὐφράτην, διαλεῖπουνσι δὲ ἐκάστη παρασάγγην, γέφυραι δὲ
ἔπειαι. Ἦν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ
μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου, ὡς ἑκοσι ποδῶν τὸ

εὔρος. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς μέγας ποιεῖ ἀντὶ
ἐρύνματος, ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελάνοντα. Ταύ-
την τὴν πάροδον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρῆλθε, καὶ
ἐγένοντο εἰσω τῆς τάφρου. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ
ἔμαχίσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωροῦντων φανερά ἦσαν καὶ
ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά. Ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος, Σι-
λανὸν καλίσας, τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην, μάντιν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δι-
ρεικούς τριςχιλούς, ὅτι τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας
πρότερον θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι " βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται
10 δέκα ἡμερῶν." Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν, " Οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται,
εἰ μὴ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις μαχεῖται· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης,
ὑπισχνοῦμαι σοι δέκα τάλαντα." Τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε
ἀπῆδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ
τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στρατεύμα διαβαίνειν,
15 ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοῦ μαχέ-
σθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένος μά-
λον. Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμενος τὴν πο-
ρείαν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ· τὸ
δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τῶν ὅπλων
20 τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἁμαξῶν καὶ ὑποζυγίων ἤγετο.

like getting carried.

Κεφάλαιον η'.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν, καὶ πλησίον ἦν
ὁ σταθμός, ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύσειν, ἥνικα Παταγύας, ἀνὴρ
Πέρσης, τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν, προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ
κράτος ἰδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ· καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐνετύχα-
25 νεν, ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς, ὅτι βασιλεὺς
[σὺν] στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται, ὡς εἰς μάχην παρε-
σκευασμένος. Ἐνθα δὴ πολὺς τάραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα
γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ πάντες δέ, αἰάκτοις υφίσιν ἐπι-
πεσεῖσθαι. Καὶ Κῦρός τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος
30 τὸν θάρακα ἐνίδυ, καὶ ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, τὰ παλὰ εἰς

τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι, καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστον. Ἐνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλισάρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Εὐφρατῇ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τοῦτον. Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας εἶχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. Τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλιούς παρὰ Κλισάρχον ἕστασαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐώνυμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν. Κύρος δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτῷ ὅσον ἑκατό-
 10 σιοι ὠπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ παρυμνηριδίοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες, πλὴν Κύρου· Κύρος δὲ ψιλῶν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακιν-
 15 οῦνθ' εἶναι. Οἱ δ' ἵπποι ἅπαντες, οἱ μετὰ Κύρου, εἶχον καὶ ἱσ-
 20 προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερονίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἱππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἥνίκα δὲ δαίτη ἐγένετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτός, ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ συχνῷ ὕστερον, ὥσπερ μελαμῆ-
 25 τες ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπιπολύ. Ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐβλέποντο, τα-
 30 χα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε, καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ κότες καταφανεῖς ἐβλέποντο. Καὶ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολέμιων· Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τοῦ-
 35 των ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γέφυροφοροὶ· ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται σὺν ποδήρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν· Αἰγύπτιοι [δὲ] οὗ-
 40 τοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἱππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. Πάν-
 45 τες [δὲ] οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη, ἐν πλαισίων πληρεῖ ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. Πρὶν δ' αὐτῶν ἄρματα δια-
 50 λείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τὰ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτει-
 55 μένα, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὥς διακό-
 60 πτειν, ὅτῳ ἐντυχάνοιεν. Ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν, ὥς εἰς τὰς τάξεις

ing a considerable plain. *Archieb*

λαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἄμα ἐφθίγγαντο πάντες, οἷον περ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλειλίσουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθιον. Λέγουσι δὲ τινες, ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρυα ἐδούπησαν, φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. Πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις, μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἐπευθαι. Τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἐφέρετο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κενὰ ἡνιόχων. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ προῦδοιεν διίσταντο· ἔστι δὲ ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη, 10 ὥς περ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ, ἐκπλαγείς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν· οὐδὲ ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μίχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναι τις ἐλέγετο.

Κῦρος δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς 15 καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἤδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐξήχθη διώκειν· ἀλλὰ συνεισπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἐξακοσίων ἱππέων τάξιν, ἐπεμελείτο, ὅ τι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς. Καὶ γὰρ ᾗδε αὐτόν ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. Καὶ πάν- 20 τες δὲ οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες, μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγοῦνται, νομίζοντες, οὕτως καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἢ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἦ, καὶ εἴ τι παραγγεῖλαι χρήζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς, ὅμως 25 ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου κέρατος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπεν ὡς εἰς κύκλωσιν. Ἔνθα δὴ Κῦρος δείσας, μὴ ὀπισθεν γενόμενος κατακόψει τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐ- λαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβάλων σὺν τοῖς ἐξακοσίαις, νικᾷ τοὺς 30 πρὸ βασιλείως τεταγμένους, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἐξαικισχίλους· καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι λέγεται αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην, τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν.

Ὡς δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου
 εξακόσιοι, εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὀρμήσαντες· πλὴν πάντῃ ὁλλοί
 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμογράφεζοι καλούμε-
 νοι. Σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὢν, καθορᾷ βασιλεία καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκεί-
 5 νον στίφος· καὶ εὐθύς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, "Ὁρῶ
 τὸν ἄνδρα," ἔτο ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ παύει κατὰ τὸ στήρνον,
 καὶ τιρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὡς φησι Κτησίας, ὁ ἰατρός,
 καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι. Παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀ-
 κοντίζει τις παλτῶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα
 10 μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύρος, καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς
 ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρων, ὅπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλεία ἀπέθνησκον,
 Κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸς τε
 ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ'
 αὐτῷ. Ἀρταπάτης δέ, ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων
 15 θιγράπων, λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε πεπτωκότα Κύρον, καταπηδή-
 σας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. Καὶ οἱ μὲν φασι,
 βασιλεία κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάζαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ· οἱ δέ, ἰαν-
 τὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι, σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ
 χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτόν δὲ ἐφόρει καὶ ψέλλια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα,
 20 ὡς περ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Περσῶν· ἐτετίμιτο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου
 δι' εὐνοίαν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

Κεφάλαιον Θ'.

Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν τῶν
 μετὰ Κύρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικωτάτος τε καὶ
 ἀρχεῖν ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου
 25 δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῖς ἔτι
 ὢν, ὅτε ἐπαιδευέτο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις
 παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. Πάντες γὰρ οἱ
 τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλείω θύραις παι-
 δεύονται· ἐνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθαι ἄν τις,

αἰσχρὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀκούσαι, οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ. Θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τοὺς τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἄλλους τιμαζομένους· ὥστ' εὐθύς παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. Ἐνθα Κύρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον ὦν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι· ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος, καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι. Ἐκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, ριλομαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. Καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάρθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς φανερὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκαψε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν εἶναι ἐποίησεν. 15

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίου ἀθροῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίδειξεν αὐτόν, ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ υπέσαιτο, καὶ εἴ τῳ συνθοῖτο, καὶ 20 εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρέπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπεισμένου Κύρου, ἐπίστευε, μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς παθεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκοῦσαι Κύρον εἶλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους, πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. Καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ ἔλεγε, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοῖτο, ἐπεὶ ἀπαξ αὐτοῖς φίλος ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἴ τι μὲν μέλους γένοιτο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κάκιον πράξειαν. Φανερός δ' ἦν, 30 καὶ εἴ τις τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾷν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δὲ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον, ὥς εὐχοίτο, τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν, ἔσται νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὐ καὶ τοὺς κα-

κῶς ποιῶντας ἀλεξόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλεῖστοι δὴ αὐτῷ, ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρί, τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι.

Οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι, ὥς τοὺς κακούργους
 5 καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελαῖν, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. Πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στιβομένους ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερουμένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστε ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἑλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ, μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι, ἀδείῳ πορεύεσθαι, ὅποι τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι
 1) ὅ τι προχωροῖη. Τοὺς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὡμολόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος πρὸς Πεισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας, οὓς ἑώρα ἐθελόντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει, ἧς κατεστρέφετο χώρας,
 16 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα· ὥστε φιλῆσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς, εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς, δούλους τούτων ἀξιοῦν εἶναι. Τοιγαροῦν πολλή ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἶοιτο Κύρον αἰσθῆσθαι.

20 Εἷς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις αὐτῷ φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο, καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. Καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχα-
 25 γοὶ οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κερδαλειώτερον εἶναι, Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν, ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τίς γέ τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσκειν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. Τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ ὑπηρεταὶ παντὸς
 30 ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι. Εἰ δὲ τινα ὀρεγῇ δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε, ἧς ἄρχοι· χώρας, καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰεὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδύως

ἐπόνουν, καὶ θαφθαλέως ἐκτῶντο, καὶ ἃ πίπατο αὐτὶς, ἥκιστα Κῦρον ἐκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ὑποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι. Φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιο, καὶ εὐνοὺς γνῶν ὄντας, καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνεις συνεργοὺς εἶναι, ὅτι τυγχάνει βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἔνεκα φίλων ᾔετο δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοὺς ἔχει, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου, ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα. 10

Δῶρα δὲ πλεῖστα μὲν, οἶμαι, εἷς γε ἀνὴρ ὢν ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλὰ· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἑκάστου σκοπῶν, καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὀρώη ἕκαστον δεόμενον. Καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις ἢ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ὡς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ 15 τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηῆσαι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα, οὐδὲν θανυμαστόν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖ- 20 ναι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι χαρῆς εἶναι, ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. Κῦρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίβλους οἶνον ἡμιδεῖς πολλάκις, ὁπότε πάνν ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων, ὅτι “οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἡδίστον οἶνον ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοι ἔπεμψε, καὶ δεῖται σου, τοῦτον ἐκ- 25 πιεῖν τήμερον σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.” Πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε, καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεια, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα· “Τούτοις ἦσθι Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύσασθαι.” Ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπᾶνιος πάνν εἴη, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ 30 πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπερήτας, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους, τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἱπποῖς ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλόν, ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς δ-

αυτοῦ φίλους ἄγῳσιν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο, καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄφουσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιο-
 λογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖη, οὓς τιμᾷ ὥστε ἔγωγε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω,
 οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων πεφιλησθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ-
 5 τε βαρβάρων. Τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε· παρὰ μὲν
 Κύρου, δούλου ὄντος, οὐδεὶς ἀπῆει πρὸς βασιλεία· πλήν
 Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος δέ, ὃν ὤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶ-
 ναι, ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὔρε Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον, ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ
 δὲ βασιλείως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κύρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπεὶ πολέμιοι
 10 ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες, παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιωτέ-
 ρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. Μῆγα δὲ τεκμή-
 ριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ὅτι
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθός, καὶ κρίνειν ὁρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς
 15 πιστοὺς καὶ εὐνοὺς καὶ βεβαίους. Ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐ-
 τοῦ, πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεζοι μαχόμε-
 νοι ἀπέθανον ὑπὲρ Κύρου, πλήν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τε-
 ταγμένος ἐτύγγανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, τοῦ ἵππικου ἄρχων·
 ὡς δ' ἥσθετο Κύρον πεπιτωκότα, ἔφυγεν, ἔχων καὶ τὸ στρά-
 20 τευμα πᾶν, οὗ ἡγεῖτο.

Κεφάλαιον ι'.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμενται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ χεὶρ ἡ
 δεξιὰ. Βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διαώκων εἰσπίπτει
 εἰς τὸ Κυρεῖον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐ-
 κέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου
 25 εἰς τὸν σταθμόν, ἐνθ' ἐν ὥρμητο· τέταρες δὲ ἐλέγοντο
 παρασύγγαι τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶναι. Βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐ-
 τῷ τά τε. ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσιν, καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν
 Κύρου παλλακίδα, τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι,
 λαμβάνει. Ἡ δὲ Μιλησία, ἡ νεωτέρα, ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν

ἀμφὶ βασιλείᾳ, ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ἔπλα ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρπάζοντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρα- 8 ποι ἐγένοντο, πάντα ἔσωσαν. Ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὥς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτούς, ὥς πάντας νικῶντες· οἱ δὲ ἀρπάζοντες, ὥς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους, ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς, καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἰχοῖντο διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ συντάττεται· ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο, Πρό- 18 ξενον καλίσας (πλησιαιτάτος γὰρ ἦν), εἰ πέμποιεν τινας, ἣ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρῆζοντες.

Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς πάλιν δῆλος ἦν προσιών, ὥς ἐδόκει, ὅπισθεν· καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες συστραφεῖντες παρεσκευάζοντο, ὥς ταύτῃ προσιόντες καὶ δεξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἥ δὲ παρῆλθεν, ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέ- 20 ρατος, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας, καὶ Τισσαφέρην, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε μὲν οὐδένα, δια- 25 στάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθίνης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἤρχε τῶν πελταστῶν, καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. Ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὥς μεῖον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ 30 ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδρισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας, καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν

- αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέ-
 ρας, καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὅπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα
 ἐβουλευόντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ
 σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον
 6 μαχοῦμενος συνῆει. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας
 καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις παιανίσαντες ἐπήρυσαν πολὺ ἔτι
 προθυμότερον, ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. Οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέ-
 χοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλείονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεδί-
 ωκον μέχρι κόμης τινός· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες·
 10 ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κόμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ
 ἀμφὶ βασιλεία, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὁ λόφος ἐτε-
 πλήθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γινώσκειν. Καὶ τὸ βασι-
 λειον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν, αἰτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτης
 ἀνατεταμένον.
- 15 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ
 τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς· οὐ μέντοι ἔτι ἀθρόοι, ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλ-
 λοθεν· ἐφιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάν-
 τες ἀπεχώρησαν. Ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν
 λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα, πέμπει Λύκιον
 20 τὸν Συρακούσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, καὶ κελεύει, κατι-
 δόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου, τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Καὶ ὁ
 Λύκιος ἤλασε [τε] καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει, ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ
 κράτος. Σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. Ἐν-
 ταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἀνεπαύ-
 25 οντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο,
 οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρῆει· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτὸν
 τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἵκαζον, ἢ διώκοντα οἰχέσθαι, ἢ καταληψό-
 μενόν τι προεληλακέναι· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλευόντο, εἰ αὐτοῦ
 μέιναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιτο, ἢ ἀπιοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ
 30 στρατιόπεδον. Ἐδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνούνται
 ἀμφὶ δόρυπιστον ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. Ταύτης μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡμέ-
 ρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε
 ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα διηρπασμένα, καὶ εἴ τι τιτίον ἢ

ποτόν ἦν· καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἶνου, ἃς πα-
ρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος, ἵνα, εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ λάβοι τὸ στρατό-
πεδον ἔνδεια, διαδοίῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἦσαν δ' αὐται, ὥς
ἐλέγοντο, τετρακόσiai ἀμάξαι· καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν βασι-
λεῖ διήρπασαν. Ὡς τε ἄδειπνοί ἦσαν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλ-
λῆνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ
στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον, βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. Τήντην μὲν οὖν
τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγίνοντο.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ.

Κεφάλαιον α'.

ἮΝ ΜΕΝ ΟὖΝ ἡΘΡΟΪΣΘΗ ΚΥΡῶ Τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὁπότε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ οὕα ἐν τῇ ἀνδρῶ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν, οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν, καὶ Κῦρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ διεδήλωται. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθάνμαζον, ὅτι Κῦρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμποι σηματοῦντα, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. Ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, συσκευασασμένοις, ἃ εἶχον, καὶ ἐξοπλισασμένοις, προΐεναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἕως Κῦρῳ συμμίξειαν. Ἦδη δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων, αὐτὸν ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς, ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγωνὺς ἀπὸ Λαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμώ. Οὗτοι ἔλεγον, ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἴη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὁρμῶντο· καὶ λέγοι, ὅτι “ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμενεῖεν ἂν αὐτούς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἦκειν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ ἦλθε.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες [πυνθανόμενοι], βαρῶς ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τὰδε εἶπεν· “Ἄλλ' ὥφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ, ὅτι ἡμῖς

γα νικῶμεν βασιλεία, καί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐτι μάχεται· καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἤλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλεία. Ἐπαγγελόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, ἔαν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείον καθίσειν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ τὴν μάχην νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστὶ." Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἄγγέλους, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χαιρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα, καὶ Μέτωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Μίνων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντο, Κλείαρχος δὲ περιμένει. Τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο σῆτον, ὅπως ἐδύνετο, ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ἐξυλοὶς δ' ἐρχώντο, μικρὸν προΐόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τοῖς τε οὔστοις, πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλείως, καὶ τοῖς γέφθοις, καὶ ταῖς ξυλλίταις ἀσπίσι ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πίλται, καὶ ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἱ πᾶσι χρωόμενοι, κρεῖα ἔσποντες ἡσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.

Καὶ ἦδη τε ἦν περὶ πλήθουςαν ἀγοράν, καὶ ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλείως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, βάμβαροι· ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν Φαλίνος εἰς Ἕλληνα, ὃς ἐτύγγανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὦν, καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσπειεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. Οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες τε, καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας, λέγουσιν, ὅτι " βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει, καὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα, ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλείως θύρας, εὐρίσκεισθαι ἦν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν." Ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλείως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλείαρχος τοιοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι " οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἴη τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ'," ἔφη, " ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε, ὃ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω." Ἐκάλεισε γὰρ τις αὐτόν τῶν ὑψηροτέρων, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος. Ἐνθα δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλιάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκάς, πρεσβύτατος ὦν, ὅτι " προ-

σθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν, ἢ τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῖεν." Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ
Θηβαῖος, "Ἄλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ὦ Φαλῖνε, θανμάζω, πότερα ὡς
κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ ὡς διὰ φίλαν δῶρα. Εἰ
μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόν-
5 τα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λέγεται, τί ἐστὶν τοῖς στρα-
τιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται." Πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος
εἶπε, "Βασιλεὺς νικᾷν ἡγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε. Τίς
γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ὅστις ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; Νομίζει δὲ καὶ
ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρῃ, καὶ ποτα-
10 μῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων· καὶ πληθὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ду-
νάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον, οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν, δύνασθ' ἂν
ἀποκτεῖναι."

Μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν· "ὦ Φαλῖνε,
νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὀρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ ὅπλα
15 καὶ ἀρετή. Καὶ ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες, οἰόμεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ
ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι· παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν σωματῶν
στερηθῆναι. Μὴ οὖν οἶον, τὰ μόνα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ ὄντα ὑμῖν
παραδώσειν· ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγα-
θῶν μαχοῦμεθα." Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε,
20 καὶ εἶπεν· "Ἄλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ
λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶε ἂν
τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας δυνάμεως."
Ἄλλους δὲ τινὰς ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακισμένους, "ὡς καὶ
Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ βασιλεῖ γ' ἂν πολλοὶ ἄξιοι γέ-
25 νοιντο, εἰ βούλοιτο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι
χρῆσθαι, εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέφαιντ' ὡν
αὐτῷ." Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ῥωτίησεν, εἰ ἦδη
ἀποκεκριμένοι εἴεν. Φαλῖνος δ' ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· "Οὗτοι
μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπέ, τί λέγεις."
30 Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· "Ἐγώ σε, ὦ Φαλῖνε, ἅμενος ἐώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οὗτοι· σύ τε γὰρ Ἕλλην εἰ, καὶ ἡμεῖς, το-
σοῦτοι ὄντες, ὅσους σὺ ὀρᾷς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι
συμβουλευόμεθά σοι, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, περὶ ὧν λέγεις. Σὺ οὖν,

πρὸς Θεῶν, συμβούλευσεν ἡμῖν, ὃ τί σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οὔσει εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἀναλεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνος ποτὲ πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλείως, κειλεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι, συμβουλευομένοις συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. Οἴσθα δέ, ὅτι ἀνάγκη λεί-
γεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ὃ ἂν συμβουλευῆς.” Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο, βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλείως πρεσβεύοντι συμβουλευῆσαι, μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον οἱ Ἕλληνες εἴεν. Φαλῖνος δ’ ὑποστρέψας, παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ὥδε. 10

“Ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστί, σω-
θῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω, μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα· εἰ δέ τοι μηδεμίᾳ σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκοντος βα-
σιλείως, συμβουλεύω σώζεσθαι ὑμῶν ὅπη δυνατὸν.” Κλέαρ-
χος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· “Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· 15
παρ’ ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε ταῦτα, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα, εἰ μὲν
δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι,
ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῃ· εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν,
ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν, ἔχοντας τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῃ.”
Ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε· “Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ 20
καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν βασιλεύς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν
ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προῖοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλε-
μος. Εἴπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου, πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπον-
δαὶ εἰσιν, ἢ ὡς πολέμον ὄντος παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ.” Κλέ-
αρχος δ’ ἔλεξεν· “Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτων, ὅτι καὶ 25
ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἅπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ.” “Τί οὖν ταῦτ’ ἐστίν;”
ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. Ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος· “Ἦν μὲν μένουμεν,
σπονδαί· ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προῖοῦσι, πόλεμος.” Ὁ δὲ πάλιν
ῥώτησε· “Σπονδαὶ ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ;” Κλέαρχος δὲ
ταῦτά πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο· “Σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι 30
δὲ ἢ προῖοῦσι πόλεμος.” Ὁ τι δὲ ποιήσῃ, αὐτὸν διεσήμανε.

Κεφάλαιον β'.

Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ᾤχετο, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦγον, Προκλῆς καὶ Χυρίσσοφος· Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμνε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι “ πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέ-
 5 σθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἦκειν ἤδη κελύει τῆς νυκτός· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸς πρῶτ’ ἀπιέναι φησίν.” Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν· “ Ἀλλ’ οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἐὰν μὲν ἦκωμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μή, πρῶτ’ ἐγώ, ὅποιον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴησθε μάλιστα συμφέρον.” Ὁ τι δὲ ποιήσοι, οὐδὲ
 10 τούτοις εἶπε. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἤδη ἥλθον δύνοντες, συγκα-
 λίσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, ἔλεξε τοιαῦτα· “ Ἐμοί, ὡ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ, ἰέναι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, οὐκ ἐγγίγντο τὰ ἱερά. Καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγγίγντο. Ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυρρᾶνο-
 15 μαι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλείῳς ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι ναυσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι·
 πλοῖα δ’ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. Οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένων οἴαν-
 τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἰέναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους, πάντῃ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερά ἦν. Ὡς οὖν χρὴ
 20 ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν, ὃ τί τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὴν δὲ
 σημήνη τῷ κέρατι, ὥς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπει-
 δὴν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ
 δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, ἐπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια
 ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἔξω.” Ταῦτα
 ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον, καὶ
 25 ἐποίησαν οὕτω· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὃ μὲν ἤρχεν, οἱ δ’ ἐπεί-
 θοντο, εὖχ’ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ὀρῶντες, ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόναι, οἷα δ’ εἰ
 τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄπειφοι ἦσαν. Ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς
 ὁδοῦ, ἣν ἤλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης, σταθ-
 30 μοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνεήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πάντε καὶ τριάκοντα
 καὶ πεντακδύσιοι, στάδιοι πενήτηκοντα καὶ ἑκακισχίλιοι καὶ

μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, σταδίοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ, ἐπεὶ σκότιος ἐγένετο, Μιτοκύνθης μὲν ὁ Θράξ, ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππίας τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὡς τριακοσίους, ὑπὸ τὴν ἡγεσίαν πρὸς βασιλείαν. Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγήετο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ ἀφικνουῦνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρὰ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφὲ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θιμένοι τὰ ὄπλα, συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαῖον· καὶ 10 ὤμωσαν οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι, μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βύβαροι προσώμωσαν, καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως. Ταῦτα δ' ὤμωσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον, καὶ λύκον, καὶ κάπρον, καὶ κριόν, εἰς ἀσπίδα βάπτοντες οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ 15 βάρβαροι λόγχην. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος· “Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ὑμῖν, εἰπέ, τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας· πότερον ἄπιμεν, ἢ περὶ ἡλθομεν, ἢ ἄλλην τινα ἐννεοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “Ἴν μὲν ἡλθομεν ἀπι- 20 όντες, παντελῶς ἂν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἶχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἐνθα δ' εἴ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διεπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν. Νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακρο- 25 τέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. Πορευντίον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλείστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. 30 Ὀλίγω μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δὲ ἔχων στόλον, οὐ δύνησεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ

καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. Ταύτην," ἔφη, "γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε."

Ἦν δ' αὖτις ἡ στρατηγία οὐδέν ἄλλο δυναμένη, ἢ ἀποδράναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον.
 5 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο, ἐν διεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κόμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν. Ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δειλὴν ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὄραν ἰππίας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες, εἰς
 10 τὰς τάξεις ἔθρον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος, διότι ἐτίτρωτο) καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο, καὶ οἳ σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο, ἤκον λέγοντες οἳ προπεμφθέντες σκοποί, ὅτι οὐκ ἰππεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ ὑποζύγια νέμονται. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες, ὅτι ἐγγὺς που ἐστρα-
 15 τοπεδεύετο βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κόμας οὐ πρόσω. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· ἥδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἀσίστους ὄντας· ἥδη δὲ καὶ ὅψε ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδ' ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος, μὴ δοκολῇ φεύγειν· ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων,
 20 ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κόμας τοὺς πρώτους ἔχων κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διηρπάστο ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. Οἳ μὲν οὖν πρώτοι ὁμῶς τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, οἳ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι προσιόντες, ὥς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι, ἠύλλζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν
 25 πολλὴν ἐποιοῦν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἳ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. Δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὕστεραῖα ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτι οὐδὲν ἐφάνη, οὔτε στρατόπεδον, οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. Ἐξεπλάγῃ δέ, ὥς
 30 ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὕστεραῖα ἔπραττε. Προϊούσης μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης, καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δοῦπος ἦν, οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίγνεσθαι.

Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἡλείον, ὃν ἐτύγγανεν ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, τοῦτον ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε, σιγὴν κατακηφύζαντα, ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὃς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα μνηύσῃ, ὅτι λήψεται μισθὸν τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη, ὡς ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται, ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόδος εἶη, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σῶοι. Ἄμικ δὲ ὄρθρῳ παρήγγειλε Κλέαρχος εἰς τὰς ἐν τὰ ὄπλα τίθισθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἥπερ εἶχον, ὅτι ἦν ἡ μάχη.

Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξαπλάγῃ τῇ ἐφόδῳ τῇδε, 10 δῆλον ἦν· τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἤλθον ἀνατέλλοντι κήρυκας ἐπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἤλθον πρὸς τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος, τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν, 15 εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι, πελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περιμένειν, ἄχρις ἂν σχολάσῃ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατίστησε τὸ στράτευμα, ὥς τε καλεῖς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι πάντη φάλαγγα πυκνὴν, τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῇ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσέ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε, τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐεΐθεστάτους τῶν 20 αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔφρασεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀτηρώτα, τί βούλοιντο. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι “περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν ἄνδρες, ὅτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται, τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ.” Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· “Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖς αὐτῷ, ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀγγελοὶ ἀπήλαυνον, καὶ ἦγον ταχέ· ὃ καὶ δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι

ἐγγύς που ἦν βασιλεὺς ἢ ἄλλος τις, ὃς ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δέ, ὅτι “εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἡκοισαν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, οἱ αὐτούς, ἐὰν [αἱ] σπονδαὶ γίνωνται, ἄξουσιν, ἐνθεν ἔξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.” [Ὁ δ' ἡρώια, εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιούσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. Οἱ δέ, “Ἀπασιν,” ἔφασαν, “μέχρις ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελῇ.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει ταχὺ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι, καὶ καθ' ἥσυχίαν ἰλθῆναι τε 10 ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε· “Δοκεῖ μὲν καὶ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχὺ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω, ἕστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι, μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ 15 ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν, ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγῆσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μὲντοι ἐπορεύετο, τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὠπισθοφυλάκει. Καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ 20 ἀνῶσι πλήρεσιν ὕδατος, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων, οἷ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμάθεῖν ὥς ἐπεσιάται, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερῇ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις 25 αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανε, εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαλὼν· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι, μὴ οὐ συσπουδάσειν. Καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον ἐώραν 30 σπονδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. | Πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδεν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προφαίνετο τοῖς “Ἐλ-

λῃσι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τοῦτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώκτιυν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφικέιναι.

Πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας, ὅθεν ἀπιδίεξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἐνὴν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς, καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων, καὶ ὄσος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. Αὐ- 5
ται δὲ αἱ βάλατοι τῶν φοινίκων, οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, τοῖς οἰκίταις ἀπέκτειντο· αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θανάσιαι τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μίγεθος· ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἡλίκτρου οὐδὲν διάφερα· τὰς δὲ τινὰς ξηραίνοντι τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. Καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πό- 10
τον· ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαγίς δέ. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοινίκος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμαζον τὸ τε εἶδος, καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. Ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαγίς. Ὁ δὲ φοινίξ, ὅθεν ἐξαι- 15
ρεθεῖν ὁ ἐγκέφαλος, ὅλος ἐξηυαίνετο.

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασι-
λέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλείας γυναικὸς ἀδελ-
φός, καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δοῦλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἶποντο.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἔλεγε 20
πρῶτον Τισσαφέρνης δι' Ἑρμηνέως τοιάδε·

“Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γέγων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι· καὶ
ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ [κακὰ] καμύχανα ἐμπεπτωκότας,
εὖρημα ἐποιησάμην, εἴ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλείως αἰτή-
σασθαι, δοῦναι μοι, ἀποσῶσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
Οἶομαι γάρ οὐκ ἂν ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν, οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν 25
οὔτε πρὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης. Ταῦτα δὲ γνούς, ἡτούμην
βασιλεῖα, λέγων αὐτῷ, ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐ-
τῷ Κύρῳ τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα, καὶ βοήθειαν
ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμεν· καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς
Ἕλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα, καὶ συνέ- 30
μιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς
ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ τοὺς σὺν Κύρῳ βαρ-
βάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖςδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἱ-

περ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλευσασθαι· ἔρῃσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα, τίνος ἕνεκα ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. Καὶ συμβουλευέω ὑμῖν, μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾖ, εἰάν τι δύ-
 5 νωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι."

Πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλευόντο, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο· Κλέαρχος δὲ ἔλεγεν· "Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθο-
 10 μεν, ὥς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοιτες, οὔτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασι-
 λείᾳ· ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος εὗρισκεν, ὥς καὶ σὺν εὖ
 οἶσθαι, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκευάστους λάβοι, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν-
 θάδε ἀναγάγοι. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη ἐωρῶμεν αὐτὸν ἐν δεινῷ
 ὄντα, ῥσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι
 αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ
 ποιεῖν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε ἀντιποιούμεθα βα-
 15 σιλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὔτ' ἔστιν, ὅτου ἕνεκ' ἂν βουλοίμεθα τὴν
 βασιλείῳς χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν· οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν
 ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυ-
 ποίῃ· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύ-
 νασθαι· εἰάν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ
 20 τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες." Ὁ
 μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, ἔφη· "Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ
 βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ
 ἦκω, αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν."
 25 Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥςθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες
 ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος
 ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως, δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας·
 καίπερ πάνυ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ὥς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασι-
 λεῖ, ἀφῆναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους." Τέλος
 30 δ' εἶπε· "Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἢ
 μὴν φιλίαν ὑμῖν παρέξειν τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας. Ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ παρέχω-
 μεν ἀγορὰν, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπι-

τίδεια. Ἰμᾶς δ' αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσκει ὁμόσαι, ἥ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς, σίτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας, ὁπόταν μὴ παρέχωμεν ἀγοράν· ἐὰν δὲ παρέχωμεν [ἀγοράν], ὠρουμένους ἔξιν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια." Ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ ὤμωσαν, καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδωσαν Τισσαφέρην, καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλείας γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς, καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρην εἶπε· "Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλεῖα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαπράξωμαι, ἃ δέομαι, ἥξω συσκευασάμενος, ὡς ἀπάξω ἱμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμαντοῦ ἀρχήν." 10

Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρην οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι, ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. Ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παραθαβρύνοντές τε καὶ δεξιὰς ἔνιοι παρὰ 15 βασιλείως φέροντες, μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλεῖα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας, μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων. Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων, ἔνδηλοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριαῖον ἦτιον τοῖς Ἕλλησι προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ 20 προσιόντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς· "Τί μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι φόβος ἢ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖα [μέγαν] στρατεύειν; Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν, διὰ τὸ διεσπύρεσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· 25 ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν ἀλισθῇ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιά, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. Ἴσως δὲ που ἡ ἀποσκάπτει τι ἢ ἀποτεριχίξει, ὥς ἄπορος ἢ ἡ ὁδός. Οὐ γὰρ ποτε ἐκῶν γε βουλήσεται, ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὥς

ἡμεῖς, τοσοῖδε ὄντες, ἐνικῶμεν τὴν βασιλείῳς δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν.”

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν· “Ἐγὼ ἐν-
θυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δέ, ὅτι, εἰ νῦν ἄπι-
5 μιν, δοξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι, καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς
ποιεῖν. Ἐπειτα, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν παρέξει,
οὐδ’ ὀπόθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὐθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς
ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφε-
στήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λείψεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρό-
10 σθεν ὄντες, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. Ποταμὸς δὲ εἰ μὲν τις
καὶ ἄλλος ὕψος ἡμῖν ἐστι διαβατέος, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ’ οὖν
Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι, κωλόντων πολε-
μίων. Οὐ μὲν δὴ, ἂν μάχεσθαι δέη, ἱππεῖς εἰσὶν ἡμῖν σύμμα-
χοι· τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἱππεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πλείστου
15 ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν, τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμέ-
νων δὲ μὴν οὐδένα οἶόν τε σωθῆναι. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασι-
λίᾳ, ᾗ πολλὰ οὕτως ἐστὶ τὰ σύμμαχα, εἶπερ προθυμεῖται
ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα, ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι, καὶ δεξιὰν
δοῦναι, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα
20 ποιῆσαι Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις.” Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Τισσαφέρνης ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν,
ὥς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιών, καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἦγε
δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλείῳς ἐπὶ γάμῳ. Ἐντεῦθεν
δὲ ἤδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέχοντος,
25 ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος ἔχων τὸ Κύρου βαρ-
βαρικὸν στράτευμα, ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντῃ, καὶ συν-
εστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὑφορῶντες
τούτους, αὐτοὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες.
Ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπὸ χόντες ἀλλήλων παρα-
30 σάγγην, καὶ μῆϊον· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ [οἱ] ἀμφοτέροι ὥςπερ
πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρεῖχεν.
Ἐνλοτε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ χόρον καὶ ἄλ-

λα τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες, πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρῆχε.

Διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμούς, ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον αὐτοῦ εἶσω· ἦν δὲ ῥοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς, ἐν ἀσφάλτῃ καιμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δὲ ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασαγγῶν· ἀπεῖχε δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· καὶ διέβησαν διώρυγας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δ' ἔξευ- μένην πλοίοις ἱπτά· αὐταὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος πο- 20 ταμοῦ· κατετίεμνητο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώ- ραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται, μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάσσους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὄχετοί, ὥς περ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελλίνας· καὶ ἀφικνουῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἣ ὄνομα Σιτάκη, ἀπέχουσα 18 τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους πεντεκαίδεκα. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνωσαν, ἐγγὺς παραδείσου καλοῦ καὶ μεγάλου καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, διαβε- βηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα, οὐ μέντοιγε καταφανεῖς ἦσαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων 20 Πρῶξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν ἡρώτησεν ἄνθρω- πός τις τοὺς προφύλακας, ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρῶξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον. Μένωννα δὲ οὐκ ἐζήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ Ἀριαίου ὦν, τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρῶξενος εἶπεν, ὅτι “Αὐτός εἰμι, ὃν ζητεῖς,” εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε· “Ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος 28 καὶ Ἀρτάοχος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι, μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτός οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στρα- τευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ· καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι κελεύουσι φυλακὴν, ὥς δια- νοεῖται λῦσαι αὐτὴν Τισσαφέρους τῆς νυκτός, ἣν περ δύνηται, 30 ὥς μὴ διαβῇτε, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος.” Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον, καὶ φράζουσιν, ἃ λέγει. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκού-

σας ἐταράχθη, καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο σφόδρα. Νεανίσκος δὲ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν, “ὡς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἶη, τό τε ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει αὐτούς, ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς λύειν τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γάρ, ἂν 5
πολλὰι γέφυραι ᾧσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἄν, ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθείμεν· ἂν δ' αὖ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφυρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκείνοι, ὅποι [ἂν] φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθήσαι, πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν, οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται, λελυμέ-
10 νης τῆς γεφυρας.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον, πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι πολλή, καὶ κῶμαι ἔννεσι καὶ πόλεις πολλὰι καὶ μεγάλαι. Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη, ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄν-
15 θρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν, ὁκνοῦντες, μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες, διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἐρύματα ἔχοντες, ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας, πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὐσης, καὶ τῶν ἐργασσομένων ἐνότων· εἶτα καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γένοι-
20 το, εἴ τις βούλοιτο βασιλεῖα κακῶς ποιεῖν. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὅμως φυλακὴν ἔπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμόθεν, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γεφυ-
25 ραν, ἔξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ, ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γὰρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τι-σαφέρνης Ἑλλήνων, ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσεσθαι· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῆ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφάνη μετ' ἄλλων, σκοπῶν, εἰ διαβαίνοιεν τὸν πο-
30 ταμόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν, ὥχετο ἀπελαύνων.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας ἔκωσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου· ἐπὴν δὲ γέφυρα. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ᾤκειτο πόλις

μεγάλη, ἢ ὄνομα Ἰλπιδίς· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφός, ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιῶν πολλὴν ἄγων, ὡς βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἐαυτοῦ στράτευμα, παρεχομένους ἐθιῶρει τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἡγαῖτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπο- 5 ρεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐπιστάμενος. Ὅσον δ' ἂν χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσῃ, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξαι πάμπλου εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐκπεπληχθαι θεωροῦντα. 10 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους ἕξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας, τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλείως μητρός. Ταύτας Τισσαφέρνης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγεῖλὼν διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. Ἐνῆν δὲ οἵτις πολὺς, καὶ πρόβατα, καὶ ἄλ- 15 λα χρήματα. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας εἰκοσι, τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ὠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, ὄνομα Καιναί, ἕξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διήγον ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυρούς, 20 οἶνον.

Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζάβατον πρταμόν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὀποψίαι μὲν ἦσαν, φανερά δ' οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλὴ. Ἐδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ συγγενίσθαι 25 Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ εἴ πως δύναίτο, παῦσαι τὰς ὕποψιας, πρὶν εἰς αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψε τινα ἐροῦντα, ὅτι συγγενίσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζοι. Ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκίλευσεν ἔκκεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. “Ἐγώ, ὦ

Τισσαφέρη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὄρκους γεγενημένους, καὶ δεξιὰς
 δεδομένας, μὴ ἀδικήσιν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σὲ τε ὄρω
 ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὀρῶντες ταῦτα, ἀντιφυλαττό-
 μεθα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐδὲν δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ αἰσθῆσθαι
 5 πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἐγὼ τε σαφῶς οἶδα, ὅτι
 ἡμεῖς γε οὐδ' ἐπινοοῦμεν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λό-
 γους σοι ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως, εἰ δυναίμεθα, ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν
 ἀπιστίαν. Καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἤδη ἀνθρώπους τοὺς μὲν ἐκ δια-
 βολῆς, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους,
 10 φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν, ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ
 τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτε αὖ βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν.
 Τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα
 αἶν παύεσθαι, ἦκω, καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι, ὡς σὺ ἡμῖν
 οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον, οἱ
 15 θεῶν ὄρκοι ἡμᾶς κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις
 δὲ τούτων σύννοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὐποτ'
 αἶν εὐδαιμονίσαιμι. Τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ'
 ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι, οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον
 ἂν σκότος ἀποδραίῃ, οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀπο-
 20 σταίῃ. Πάντη γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα, καὶ πανταχῇ
 πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε
 καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὕτω γινώσκω, παρ' οἷς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν
 συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δὲ ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἔγωγε ἐν
 τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον ἡμῖν εἶναι ἀγαθόν. Σὺν μὲν
 25 γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ἡμῖν ὁδὸς εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δια-
 βατός, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα
 μὲν ἡ ὁδὸς διὰ σκότους· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα·
 πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύνπορος, πᾶς δ' ὄχλος φοβερός· φοβερώτατον
 δ' ἐρημία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ
 30 μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κα-
 τακτείναντες, πρὸς βασιλεία τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον ἀγωνιζό-
 μεθα; Ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἶων ἐλπίδων ἑμαυτὸν ἂν στερή-
 σαιμι, εἴ σέ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὐ ποιεῖν, ὃν [αὖν] βούλοιντο. Σὲ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα, καὶ τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σωζόντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείᾳς δύναμιν, ἣν Κύρος πολέμῳ ἔχρῃτο, σοὶ ταύτην σύμμαχον οὖσαν. Τούτων δὲ τοιοῦτων ὄντων, τίς οὕτω μαίνεται, ὅστις οὐ σοὶ βούλεται φίλος εἶναι; Ἀλλὰ μὲν — ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας, καὶ σὲ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι — οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ 10 Πεισιδάς· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα ἀεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δέ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν γιγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ, ποῖα δυνάμει συμμαχῶ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσσεσθαι τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. Ἀλλὰ μὲν ἔν γε τοῖς 15 πύριξι οἰκοῦσι σὺ, εἰ μὲν βούλοιό τῳ φίλος εἶναι, ὥς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης· εἰ δὲ τίς σε λυποίῃ, ὥς δεσπότης ἀναστρέφοιο, ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἱ σοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μόνον ὑπηρετοῖμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος, ἣν σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμου- 20 μένῃ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστόν εἶναι, τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν, ὥστε καὶ ἡδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τοῦτομα, τίς ἐστιν οὕτω δεινὸς λέγειν, ὥστε σε πείσαι λέγων, ὥς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλευόμεν." Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρτης δὲ ὥδε ἀπημείφθη·

25

"Ἄλλ' ἡδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων, εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βουλευνοίς, ἅμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σεαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. Ὡς δ' ἂν μάθῃς, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτε ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον. Εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέ- 30 σαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν, ἢ πεζῶν, ἢ ὀπλίσεως, ἐν ἧ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴημεν ἂν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος; Ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων

ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἄν σοι δοκοῦμεν ; Οὐ τοσαῦτα
 μὲν πεδία ἡμῖν φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορευέσθαι,
 τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὑμῖν ὁρᾶτε ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἔξεστι
 προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἀπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν ; τοσοῦτοι δὲ εἰσι
 5 ποταμοί, ἐφ' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι, ὅπόσοις ἂν ὑμῶν
 βουλόμεθα μάχεσθαι ; Εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν, οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παν-
 τήσασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορευοίμεν. Εἰ δὲ
 ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ τοῦ καρποῦ
 κρεῖττόν ἐστιν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν
 10 ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ὃ ὑμεῖς, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε, μάχε-
 σθαι ἂν δύναισθε. Πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔχοντες τοσούτους πόρους
 πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον,
 ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα,
 ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβής, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων
 15 αἰσχροί ; Παντάσασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμυγχανῶν καὶ
 ἀνάγκῃ ἔχοντων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οὔτινες ἐθέλουσι δι'
 ἐπιτοκίας τε πρὸς θεοῦς, καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους
 πράττειν τι. Οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὃ Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἡλίθιοι,
 οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι ἐσμέν. Ἀλλὰ τί δή, ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολίσσαι, οὐκ
 20 ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡλθομεν ; Εὖ ἴσθι, ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τούτου αἰ-
 τιος, τοῦ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὃ Κῦρος
 ἀνέβη ξενικῷ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων, τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆ-
 ναι δι' εὐεργεσίας ἰσχυρόν. Ὅσα δὲ μοι ὑμεῖς χρήσιμοι
 ἔσσεσθε, τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν
 25 μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν
 ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ
 ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι."

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν·
 "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "οὔτινες, τοιοῦτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλιαν ὑπαρχόν-
 30 των, πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες πολεμίους ποιῆσαι ἡμᾶς, ἃς οἱ
 εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ;" "Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν," ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρ-
 ης, "εἰ βούλεσθε μοι οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐν τῷ
 ἔμφαντι ἔλθεῖν, λίξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας, ὥς σὺ ἐπιβου-

λύνεις ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ." "Ἐγὼ δ'," ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, "ἄξω πάντας· καὶ σοὶ αὖ ἐγὼ δηλώσω, ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω." Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύν-δειπνον ἐποιήσατο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Κλέαρχος, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, δηλὸς τε ἦν πάνυ φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακείσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνηι, καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελεν· ἔφη τε χρῆναι ἵνα παρὰ Τισσαφέρνηι, οὓς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οἱ ἂν ἐξελεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς προδότας αὐτοῦς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. Τῷ ὅπτευσ 10 δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα· εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγενημὲνον Τισσαφέρνηι μετὰ Ἀριαίου, καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιδουλεύοντα [αὐτῷ], ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λαβὼν, φίλος ἢ Τισσαφέρνηι. Ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώ- 15 μην, καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδῶν εἶναι. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντίλεγόν τινες αὐτῷ, μὴ μέναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγούς· καὶ στρατηγούς, μὴδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνηι. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἕτε διεπράξατο, πίντε μὲν στρατηγούς ἵνα, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὥς 20 εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὥς διακόσιοι.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνηους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν ἔσω, Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, Μένων Θετταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιός· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ἔμενον. Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον 25 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἱ τε ἔνδον συνελαμβάνοντο, καὶ οἱ ἔσω κατεκόπησαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἰππέων, διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες, ᾧτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἑλλη-λινι ἢ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ, πάντας ἔκτεινον. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες τὴν τε ἰππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον, ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου 30 ὀρῶντες, καὶ, ὃ τι ἐποιοῦν, ἡμφιγνόουν, πρὶν Νίκαρχος Ἀρκᾶς ἦκε φεύγων, τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ τὰ ἔντερα

ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε πάντα τὰ γεγεννημένα. Ἐκ
 τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγ-
 μένοι, καὶ νομίζοντες, αὐτίκα ἦξιν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπε-
 δον. Οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτίο-
 5 ζος καὶ Μιθριδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἱερμηνεύς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν
 αὐτοῖς ὄραν καὶ γινώσκειν· συνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
 Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. Οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγ-
 γὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἴ τις εἴη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ
 10 στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγός, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασιλείως.
 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον τῶν Ἑλλήνων φυλαττόμενοι στρατηγοὶ
 μὲν, Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομέσιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμφάλιος, σὺν
 αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι τὰ περὶ Προξέ-
 νου. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐτύγχανεν ἂπὼν ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ σὺν ἄλ-
 15 λοις ἐπισιτιζόμενος. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔατησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν
 Ἀριαῖος τάδε· “Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπι-
 ορκῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ
 τέθνηκε. Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, οὗτοι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ
 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν· ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ
 20 ὅπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ εἶναι φησὶν, ἐπεὶ περὶ Κύρου ἦσαν
 τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου.”

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ
 ὁ Ὀρχομέσιος· “Ὡς κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων, Ἀριαῖε, καὶ οἱ
 ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεοὺς
 25 οὔτε ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες, ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους
 καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομιεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει, τῷ
 ἀθιεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουφγοτάτῳ, τοὺς τε ἄνδρας αὐτούς, οἷς
 ὤμνυτε, ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προδεδω-
 κότες, σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔρχεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς;” Ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος
 30 εἶπε· “Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο
 Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόντῃ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς σὺν τού-
 τοις.” Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Ξενοφῶν τάδε εἶπε· “Κλέαρχος μὲν
 τοῖσιν, εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλυε τὰς σπονδὰς, τὴν δίκην

ἔχει· δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπορευόμενους. Πρό-
 ξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων ἐπέπερ εἰσὶν ὑμετέροισι μὲν εὐεργέται,
 ἡμετέροισι δὲ στρατηγοί, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γάρ,
 ὅτι, φίλοι γε ὄντες ἀμφοτέροισι, πειράσσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ
 ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν." Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάβαροι, ὁ
 πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοισι, ἀπῆλθον οὐδὲν ἀπο-
 κρινάμενοι.

Κεφάλαιον 5'.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες, ἀνῆλθον ὡς
 βασιλεία, καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν· εἰς.
 μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος, ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων, τῶν ἐμ- 10
 πείρους αὐτοῦ ἔχοντων, δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς
 καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχατάως. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἔως μὲν πόλεμος
 ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, παρέμενεν·
 ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς οἱ
 Θρᾷκες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύ- 15
 νατο παρὰ τῶν Ἐφορῶν, ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ
 Χερσφονήσου καὶ Πειρίνθου Θρᾷξιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγρόντες
 πως οἱ Ἐφοροὶ, ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν
 ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὤχετο
 πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ 20
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελεῶν, ὡς ἀπειθῶν. Ἦδη δὲ φεγγὰς ὢν,
 ἔρχεται πρὸς Κύρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κύρον,
 ἄλλη γέγραπται· δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρος μυρία δαρκίους·
 ὁ δὲ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἐπὶ βραδυμίαν ἐπράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων
 τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στρατεύματα, ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θρᾷξιν· 25
 καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἦγεν αὐ-
 τοὺς· καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο, μέχρις οὗ Κύρος ἐδεήθη
 τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πο-
 λεμήσων.

Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις, ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν· ἐξὸν δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν, βούλεται πονεῖν [ὥστε πολεμεῖν]· ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως, αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν
 5 μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Ἐκεῖνος δέ, ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικὰ ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινα ἡδονήν, ἥθελε θαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον· οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. Πολεμικὸς δὲ αὖ ταύτῃ εἶναι ἐδόκει, ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς οἱ παρόντες παν-
 10 ταχοῦ πάντες ὡμολόγουν. Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δὲ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, ὡς δυνατόν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου, οἶον καὶ ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν. Ἰκανὸς μὲν γάρ, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος, φροντίζειν ἦν, ὅπως ἔξει ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα· ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιεῖσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὡς πειστέον εἶη Κλεάρχῳ.
 15 Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ ὄραν στυγρὸς ἦν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς· ἐκόλαζε τε αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνότιε, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. Καὶ γνώμη δὲ ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγέτο ὄφελος εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὡς δέοι τὸν
 20 στρατιωτὴν φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἀρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάζειν, ἢ φίλων ἀφίξεσθαι, ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἵεναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἡθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἡρῶντο οἱ στρατιῶται. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνόν τότε φαιδρὸν αὐ-
 25 τοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν, ἐφρώμενον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι· ὥστε σωτήριον καὶ οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο. Ὅτι δ' ἐξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γίνοντο, καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπειναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ χαλε-
 30 πὸς καὶ ὠμὸς ἦν· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν φίλᾳ μὲν καὶ εὐνοίᾳ ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ

κατεχόμενοι παρήλσαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἐχρήτο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, μεγάλη ἤδη ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρσάλως ἔχιν παρῆν, καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίη. Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλάγετο. Ἦν δέ, ὅτε ἐτελεύτα, ἀμφὶ τὰ πενήκοντα ἔτη.

Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιωτίας εὐθύς μὲν μισράκιον ὦν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργίας ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανός ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ φίλος ὦν τοῖς πρώτοις, μὴ ἡττάσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην, καὶ χρήματα πολλά· τούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν, σφόδρα ἐνδηλον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θίλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μὴ. Ἀρχεῖν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὔτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνον· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ φανερός τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἢ οἱ στρατιώται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. ὤλετο δὲ ἀρχεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν, τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ καγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἀδικοὶ ἐπεβούλευον, ὥς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. Ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν, ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δηλὸς ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι· ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμάσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τ' ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοῖη

ἡλικίην. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι, ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη, συντο-
 μωτάτην ὁδὸν ᾤετο εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιόρχεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι
 καὶ ἑξαπατᾶν· τὸ δὲ ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ ἀληθές ἐνόμιζε τὸ αὐτὸ
 τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. Στέργων δὲ φανερός μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ
 5 δὲ φαίη φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἐνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων.
 Καὶ πολεμίῳ μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάν-
 των ὡς καταγελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολε-
 μίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι, τὰ
 τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων μόνος
 10 ᾤετο εἰδέναι ῥᾶστον ὃν ἀφάλακτα λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ὅσους
 μὲν ἂν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρχους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς εὖ ὥπλισμέ-
 νους ἐφοβείτο· τοῖς δ' ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς
 ἀνάνδρους ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. Ὡς περ δὲ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ
 15 θεοσεβείᾳ, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, οὕτω Μένων ἡγά-
 λητο τῷ ἑξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῇ, τῷ φί-
 λους διαγελᾶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανουργοῦν τῶν ἀπαιδευμένων ἐνό-
 μιζεν εἶναι. Καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλή,
 διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους, τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι.
 Τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρασχεῖσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ
 20 συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμχανᾶτο. Τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύε-
 σθαι ἤξιον, ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναται καὶ ἐθέλοι
 ἂν ἀδικεῖν. Εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὅποτε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφί-
 σταιτο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. Καὶ τὰ
 μὲν δὴ ἀφανῇ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ πάντες
 25 ἴσασι, τὰδ' ἐστί. Παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν, ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν,
 στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων. Ἀριαίῳ δέ, βαρβάρῳ
 ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἦδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὥραϊος
 ὢν ἐγένετο· αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε θαρύπαν, ἀγένειος ὢν
 γενειῶντα. Ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατηγῶν, ὅτι ἐστρά-
 30 τευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα σὺν Κύρῳ, τὰ αὐτὰ πεποιηκώς οὐκ
 ἀπέθανε· μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν, τι-
 μωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὥς περ Κλῆαρχος καὶ
 οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτιμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλάς, ὥς περ τὰ-

λύπης, καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παιδων, οὓς οὐποτε ἐνόμζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακειμένοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγός, οὔτε λοχαγός, οὔτε στρατιώτης ὧν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Προξένος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἰκοῖεν, ξένος ὧν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπischνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον Κύρῳ ποιήσιν· ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. Ὁ μὲντοι Ξενοφῶν, ἀναγνούς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀνακοινούται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ὑπο-
πτεύσας, μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὑπαίτιον εἴη, Κύρῳ φί-
λον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος προθυμῶς τοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμήσαι, συμβουλευεῖν τῷ
Ξενοφῶντι, ἔλθόντα εἰς Δελφούς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ
τῆς πορείας. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, 15
τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστ' ἂν καὶ ἄριστα
ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐπινοῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθεῖη. Καὶ
ἀντίλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. Ὁ δ' ἀκού-
σας ἡττάτο αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρότερον ἠρώτα, πότερον 20
λώϊον αὐτῷ εἴη πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας,
ἵτεον εἶναι, τοῦτο ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθεῖη.
“Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἦρου, ταῦτ',” ἔφη, “χρὴ ποιεῖν, ὅσα ὁ
θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν, οὕτω θυσάμενος, οἷς
ἀντίλεν ὁ θεός, ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Προξέ- 25
νον καὶ Κύρον, μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμαῖν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν· καὶ
συνεσιτάθη Κύρῳ. Προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου καὶ ὁ
Κύρος συμπrouθυμεῖτο μέναι αὐτόν· εἶπε δέ, ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν
τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθύς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. Ἐλέγτετο
δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πεισιδάς. 30

Ἐστρατιεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεῖς, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ
Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ὁρμήν, οὐδ' ἄλλος
οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλι-

κίαν ἦλθον, σαφές πᾶσιν ἦδη ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἶη ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ. Φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄκοντες ὁμῶς οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἰς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δὲ ὕπνου λαχὼν, εἶδεν ὄναρ. Ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, βροντῆς γενομένης, σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν. Περὶφοβος δ' εὐθύς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν· ὅτι, ἐν πόνοις ὧν καὶ κινδύ-
 10 νοις, φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλείῳ τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελεθεῖν τῆς βασιλείῳ, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν.

15 Ὅποιόν τι μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. Γίγνεται γὰρ τάδε εὐθύς. Ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη, πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· “Τί κατὰκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἦξιν. Εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ
 20 βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδῶν, μὴ σὺνὸν πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας, ὕβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν. Ὅπως δὲ ἀμυνόμεθα, οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται, οὐδ' ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα, ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. Ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ πόλεως πόλει στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ
 25 ταῦτα πράξειν; πόλιν δ' ἡλικίᾳ ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τῇμέρον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίῳις.” Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται, καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλε-
 30 ξεν· “Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὐτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι (ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, οὐδ' ὑμεῖς), οὐτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὄρῳ, ἐν οἷσις ἵμην. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολέμιοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμισαν, τὰ ἑαυτῶν καλῶς παρασκευάσθαι· ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖ-

και, ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. Καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑψησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὅς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τέττη-
 κότες ἤδη ἀποτεμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνισταύρω-
 σεν· ἡμᾶς δὲ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάριστιν, ἐστρατεύ-
 σαμεν δ' ἐκ' αὐτόν, ὥς δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασιλείας ποιήσοντας, καὶ
 ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ θυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; Ἄρ'
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πάν ἔλθοι, ὥς, ἡμᾶς τὰ ἱσχυρά αἰκισάμενος,
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχη τοῦ στρατεῦσαι ποτε ἐφ'
 ἑαυτόν; Ἄλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐκ' ἐκείνου γενησόμεθα, πάντα 10
 ποιήσαν. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, οὐποτε
 ἐπαυομένη ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτεῖρων, βασιλεῖα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῇ
 μακαρίζων, διαθιζόμενος αὐτῶν ὅσῃ μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχοι-
 εν, ὥς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ
 κτήνη, χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθλὰ δέ· τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅποτε 15
 ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετεῖη,
 εἰ μὴ πρῆαιμεθα, ὅτου δὲ ὠνησόμεθα, ἥδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχον-
 τας, ἄλλως δὲ πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἢ ὠνουμένους,
 ὄρκους ἤδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος, ἐνίστα-
 τας σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην, ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. Ἐπεὶ 20
 μέντοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ
 ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις, καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. Ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἦδη
 κείται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἄθλα, ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες
 ἀμείνονες ὦσιν· ἀγνωσθεῖται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν,
 ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἔσονται. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· 25
 ἡμεῖς δὲ, πολλὰ ὀρῶντες ἀγαθὰ, στεφθῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμε-
 θα, διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναι μοι δοκεῖ, εἶναι
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μέλζονι, ἢ τούτοις. Ἐτι
 δὲ ἔχομεν σώματα ἱκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάληη
 καὶ πόρους φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς 30
 ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θρητοὶ μᾶλλον
 ἡμῶν, ἢ οἱ θεοὶ, ὥς περ τοπρὸςθεν, νίκην ἡμῖν διδώσιν.
 Ἄλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,

μὴ ἀναμένωμεν, ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. Φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἀριστοί, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. Καὶ γὰρ θεῖ, εἰ μὲν
 5 ὑμεῖς ἐθέτετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἔπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς τάτετέ με ἡγείσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι, ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμυνοῦ τὰ κακά."

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔειπεν, οἱ δὲ λοχαγοί, ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα,
 10 ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευον ἅπαντες. Πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν, βοιωτιάων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν, ὅτι φλυαροίη, ὅστις λέγει, ἄλλως πως σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν, ἢ βασιλεῖα πείσας, εἰ δύναίτο· καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. Ὁ μὲντοι Ξενοφῶν, μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν, ἔειπεν ὧδε· "Ὡ θανμασιώτατε
 15 ἄνθρωπε, σὺ γε οὐδ' ὁρῶν γιγνώσκεις, οὐδ' ἀκούων μέμνησαι. Ἐν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες,
 20 ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων, καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν, καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; Ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὀπλων ἤλθον, πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι, οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖν οἱ
 25 τλήμονες δύνανται; καὶ μάλ', οἶμαι, ἐρῶντες τούτου. Ἄ σὺ πάντα εἰδώς, τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ἰόντας; Ἐμοὶ δέ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, δοκεῖ, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τούτον μήτε προσεσθαι εἰς ταῦτό ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν, σκευὴ ἀναθίοντας, ὥς
 30 τοιοῦτῳ χρῆσθαι. Οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κατασχύνει, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλληρ ὦν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν."

Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος, εἶπεν· "Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδέν, οὔτε τῆς Ἑλ-

λάδος παντάπασιν· ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὥς περ Ἀνδρόν, ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὅτι τετυρπημένον.” Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπῆλασαν· οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι, παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶος εἴη, τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν· ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστρατηγόν· ὅπου δὲ λοχαγὸς σῶος εἴη, τὸν λοχαγόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐκαθίσκοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. Ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, σχεδὸν ἦσαν μίσαι νύκτες. Ἐνταῦθα Ἰερώνημος Ἡλείος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Προξίνων λοχαγῶν, ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε· “Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὁρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν, καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλίσαι, ὅπως βουλευσάμεθα, εἴ τι δυναίμεθα, ἀγαθόν. Λέξον δ’,” ἔφη, “καὶ σύ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.”

Ἐκ τούτου λέγει τὰδε Ξενοφῶν· “Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης, οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν, συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν· τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὥς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀπολέσωσιν. Ἡμῖν δὲ γ’ οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα, ὥς μή ποτε ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μάλλον, ἣν δυνώμεθα, ἐκείνοι ἐφ’ ἡμῖν. Εὐτοίμην ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι ὑμεῖς, τοσοῦτοι ὄντες, ὅσοι νῦν συνελθύθατε, μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρὸν. Οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀποβλέπουσι· καὶ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσιν ἀθυμοῦντας, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται· ἣν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ᾗτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι ἔσονται ὑμῖν, καὶ πειράσονται μιμεῖσθαι. ἴσως δὲ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. Ἦμεῖς γὰρ ἐστέ στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ᾗν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίμην, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλῆθους εἶναι, καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἣν που δέη. Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὀνῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα,

εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε, ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὡς τάχιστα
στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ κατασταθῶσιν. Ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων
οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλόν, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὡς μὲν συνελόντι
εἶπεῖν, οὐδαμοῦ· ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, παντάπασιν. ἸΙ
6 μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπο-
λώλεκεν. Ἐπειθ' ἂν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅσους δεῖ,
ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρσύνη-
τε, οἶμαι, ὑμᾶς πάντῃ ἂν ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως
καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε, ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα,
10 ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε, οὕτω γε ἐχόντων, οὐκ
οἶδ' αὖ, ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς, εἴτε νυκτὸς δεῖοι τι, εἴτε
καὶ ἡμέρας. Ἦν δὲ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ
τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται, τί πείσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι,
πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δήπου, ὅτι
15 οὔτε πληθὸς ἐστὶν οὔτε ἰσχύς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας
ποιοῦσα· ἀλλ' ὁπότεροί ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐφ-
θρμενέστεροι ᾖσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπιτο-
πολὺ οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ δέχονται. Ἐντεθίμηναι δ' ἔγωγε,
ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι, ὅποσοι μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παν-
20 τὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ
αἰσχροῶς ὡς ἐπιτοπολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ὅποσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν
θάνατον ἐγνώκασιν πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώ-
ποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους
ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους, καί, ἕως ἂν
25 ζῶσιν, εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. Ἄ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν
καταμαθόντας, ἐν κοινότητι γὰρ καιρῷ ἑσμέν, αὐτοὺς τε ἄν-
δρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν." Ὁ μὲν
ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἐπαύσατο.

Μετὰ τοῦτον δ' εἶπε Χερσίσοφος· "Ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν,
30 ὦ Δενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίνωσκον, ὅσον ἤκουον
Ἀθηναίων εἶναι· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινώ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ
πράττεις, καὶ βουλομένην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιοῦτους·
κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. Καὶ νῦν," ἔφη, "μὴ μέλλωμεν,

ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ θεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἰλόμενοι ἤκειτε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτα ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας· παρίστω δ' ἡμῖν," ἔφη, "καὶ Τυλμίδης ὁ κήρυξ." Καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνίστη, ὥς μὴ μέλλοιτο, ἀλλὰ περαινέσθαι τὰ δέοντα. Ἐκ τούτου ἡρέθησαν ἄρχοντες, ἀντὶ μὲν Κλειάρχου Τιμασίῳ Λαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιοός, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Ἀρχιάδῳ Κλειάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος, ἀντὶ δὲ Μίνωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιοός, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξινοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

Κεφάλαιον β'.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέβαινε, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, προφύλακας κατastήσαντας, συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιώται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὥδε· "Ὡ ἄνδρες στρατιώται, καὶ χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιοῦτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον, οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες, προδιδώκασιν ἡμᾶς. Ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τε εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ὑφίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ πειραῖσθαι, ὅπως, ἣν μὲν δυνώμεθα, καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑπεχείριον δὲ μήποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολέμοις. Οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν, οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν."

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλειάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὥδε· "Ἄλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλείας ἐπιπορκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν· ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρδους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων, ὥς γέγωνε τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ περὶ πλείστον ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοὺς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐ-

τοὺς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας, συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία Ξένιον ῥέδισθη, ἀλλὰ, Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος, αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. Ἀριαῖος δέ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλεῖα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστά, μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος, οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας, οὔτε Κύρον τὸν τεθνηκότα αἰδέσθεις, εἰμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κέρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστάς, ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κέρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειράται. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ, ταῦτα ὁρῶντας, μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους, ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα, τοῦτο, ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς, πάσχειν."

Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται, ἐσταλμένος εἰς πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα· νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικῶν πρέπειν· εἴτε τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὁρθῶς ἔχειν, τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα, ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε· "Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβύρων ἐπιτοκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δέ, ὅμαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς. Εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἔναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶντας τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἳ διὰ πίστειος αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοοῦμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὧν τε πεποιήκασι, δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἔναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰ ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες εἰσι σωτηρίας." Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, πιάρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται, πάντες μιᾷ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν· καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· "Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια, ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα· συνεπεξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. Καὶ ὅτῃ δοκῇ

ταῦτ'," ἔφη, "ἀντεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα." Καὶ ἀντεινῶσαν ἅπαντες. Ἐκ τούτου εὗξαντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν Θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε·

"Ἐτύγχανον λέγων, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἰεν σωτηρίας. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν Θεῶν ὄρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασι τε, καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λελύκασιν. Οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων, εἰκός, τοῖς μὲν πολέμοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς Θεούς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, ὅπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι, καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὦσι, σώζειν εὐπειῶς, ὅταν βούλονται. Ἐπειτα δέ, ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὥς ἀγαθοὶς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς Θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάντων δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί· ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ, ὥς ἀφανιζούντων τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες, ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. Καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὅπόσους ἂν κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολέμων, τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας καταθύσειεν τῇ Θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν· καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. Ἐπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγέρας τὴν ἀναρτίσμητον στρατιὰν ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Ὡς ἐστὶ μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένισθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἀνθρωπινον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. Τσιούτων μὲν ἐστε προγόνων. Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὥς ὑμεῖς κατασχύνετε αὐτούς· ἀλλ' οὕτω πολλὰ ἡμέραι, ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιεξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγγόνιοις, πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς Θεοῖς. Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ', ὅποτε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶ, πολὺ δέηπον ἡμᾶς προς-

ἡκει καὶ ἡμείνονας καὶ προθυμοτέρους εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ μὴν
 καὶ θαρσύναιότερους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.
 Τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν, τό τε πλήθος ἄμετρον
 ὀρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἵνα
 5 εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δ', ὁπότε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι
 θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ὑμῖν
 ἔτι προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι; Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον
 δόξητε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κυρεῖοι, πρόσθεν σὺν ὑμῖν τατιόμενοι,
 νῦν ἀφιστήκασιν· ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν
 10 ἡττημένων· ἔφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους, καταλιπόντες ὑμᾶς.
 Τούτους δὲ ἐθέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν, πολὺ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς
 πολεμίοις τατιομένους, ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει, ὀρᾶν. Εἰ δέ
 τις αὐτῶν ἀθυμεῖ, ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ
 πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεσιν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἱπ-
 15 πεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἢ μύριοι ἀνδρωποὶ εἰσὶν· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ
 ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς
 ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες, ὃ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς
 μάχαις γίγνηται. Οὐκοῦν τῶν γε ἱππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ'
 ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματος ἐσμέν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέ-
 20 μανται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπε-
 σεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βεβηκότες, πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον
 παίσομεν, ἢν τις προσέλῃ, πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὅτου ἂν ἐθέ-
 λωμεν, τευξόμεθα. Ἐνὶ μόνῳ προέχουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ ἱππεῖς·
 φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλεστέρόν ἐστιν, ἢ ἡμῖν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς
 25 μὲν μάχας θαρσύνετε, ὅτι δ' οὐκέτι ἡμῖν Τισσαφέρους ἡγήσει-
 ται, οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέ-
 ψασθε, πότιρον κρεῖττον, Τισσαφέρην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς
 ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας
 λαβόντες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν· οἱ εἰσονται, ὅτι, ἢν τι περὶ
 30 ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα
 ἀμαρτάνουσι. Τὰ δ' ἐπιτίδεια πότιρον ὠνεῖσθαι κρεῖττον
 ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἥς οὗτοι παρεῖχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀρ-
 γυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἢν περ

κρατῶμεν, μέτρη χρωμένους, ὅποσῃ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γιγνώσκετε, ὅτι οὕτω κρείττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι, καὶ μεγάλως ἡγείσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε, εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποταμοί, εἰ καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προϊοῦσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίγνονται, οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διοίσουσιν, ἡγεμῶν τε μηδεὶς φανέϊται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀδυμητίον. Ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσοὺς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίμεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἱ, βασιλείως ἄκορτος, ἐν 10 τῇ βασιλείῳ χώρᾳ πολλὰς τε καὶ μεγάλας καὶ εὐδαίμονας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν· ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πεισιδάς ὡς αὐτίως· Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν, ὅτι, ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες, τὴν τούτου χώραν καρποῦνται. Καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν φαίην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ἑρμημέ- 15 ρους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι, ὥς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντας. Οἰδα γάρ, ὅτι καὶ Μυσοὺς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν· καὶ ὁδοποιήσεί γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλονται ἀπίε- ναι. Καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τριτάσμενος ταῦτα ἐποίηι, εἰ ἰώρα 20 ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεδોકκα, μή, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μή, ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι, ἐπιληθώ- μεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον 25 εἶναι, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειράσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιδειξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι ἐκόντες πίνονται, ἐξὼν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς νῦν οἴκοι ἀκλήρους πολιτεύον- τας, ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους, πλουσίους ὄραν. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τὰγαθὰ δηλονότι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί. 30 Τοῦτο δὲ δεῖ λέγειν, πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθα τε ὥς ἀσφαλιστα- τα, καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δεῖοι, ὥς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. Πρῶτα μὲν τοίνυν," ἔφη, "δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, αἱ

ἔχομεν· ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευόμεθα, ὅποι ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηναὺς συγκατακαῦσαι. Αὗται γὰρ αὐτὸν ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι, οὔτε εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἕνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν· ἵν' ὥς πλεῖστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὦσιν, ὥς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. Κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια· ἦν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολέμους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπῆν, ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. Ὅρατε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους, ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξεγεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον, πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες, ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων, ἵκανους εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ· λαβρόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ἀναρχίᾳ ἂν καὶ ἀταξίᾳ ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. Δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀρχουσι νῦν ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν. Ἦν δὲ τις ἀπειθῇ, ἦν ψηφισθῆς τὸν ἀπὸ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἀρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμοι πλεῖστον ἔψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄφονται ἀνδ' ἐνὸς Κλεάρχους, τοὺς οὐδ' ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῶς εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαινέιν ἤδη ὦρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. Ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵν' ἔργῳ περαινῇται· εἰ δέ τι οἶδε ἄλλο βέλτιον, ἢ ταύτην, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα."

Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· "Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξίσταται ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε, δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφισσῆσθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ οἷον δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα."

Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Ἀναστάς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν·

“Ὡ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδεῖν δοκεῖ μοι. Ἀῆλον ὅτι πο-
ρεῦσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ὅπου ἵξομεν τὰ ἐπιτίδεια. Ἀκούω δὲ
κώμας εἶναι καλὰς, οὐ πλεῖον ἑξοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας.
Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύ-
ριες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκοντες τε καὶ θάκνονσιν, ἣν δὲ
κωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ οὗτοι ἡμῶν
ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν. Ἰσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῶν
πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὀπλων, ἵνα τὰ
σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλειτέρῳ ᾖ. Εἰ οὖν
νῦν ἀποδειχθῇ, τίνα χρή ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαίσιου, καὶ τὰ 10
πρόσθιν κοσμεῖν, καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων εἶναι,
καὶ τίνας ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐλ-
θοῖεν, βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ἀλλὰ χροῦμεθ’ ἂν εὐθὺς τοῖς
τεταγμένοις. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέ-
τω· εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖσθω, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαι- 15
μόνιός ἐστι· τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων δύο τῶν πρεσβυ-
τάτων στρατηγῶν ἐπιμελεσθῶν· ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς
οἱ νεώτατοι, ἐγὼ τε καὶ Τιμασίων, τὸ νῦν εἶναι. Τὸ δὲ
λοιπόν, πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα, ὃ τι
ἂν αἰετὶ κράτιστον δοκοῖν εἶναι. Εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλο βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, 20
λεξάτω.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· “Ὅτω δοκεῖ ταῦ-
τα, ἀναιτινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.” Ἐδοξε ταῦτα. “Νῦν,” ἔφη,
“ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δευγμένα· καὶ ὅστις τε ὅμων τοὺς
οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι· οὐ
γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πει- 25
ράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων, τὸ κατακαίνειν, τῶν
δὲ ἡττωμένων, τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστὶ. Καὶ εἰ τις γε χρημά-
των ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων ἐστὶ
καὶ τὰ ἱαντῶν σῶζειν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμβάνειν.”

Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον
 τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς· τῶν δὲ περιττῶν, οἷου μὲν
 δέοιτό τις, μετεδίδωσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐφ-
 ῥίπτουν. Ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡφιστοποιοῦντο. Ἀριστο-
 5 ποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἱππεύσιν ὡς
 τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγούς εἰς ἐπήκοον,
 λέγει ὧδε. “Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν,
 ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὐνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ
 σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. Εἰ οὖν ὁρώην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι
 10 βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας
 πάντας ἔχων. Λέξατε οὖν,” ἔφη, “πρὸς με, τί ἐν νῦν ἔχετε,
 ὡς πρὸς φίλον τε καὶ εὐνουν, καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν
 τὸν στόλον ποιῆσθαι.” Βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδο-
 ξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τὰδε, καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· “Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ,
 15 ἦν μὲν τις ἐξ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώ-
 ραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δὲ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ
 ἀποκωλύη, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ, ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα.”
 Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθριδάτης διδάσκειν, ὡς ἄπορον εἶη
 βασιλείῳς ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. Ἐνθα δὴ ἐγινγνώσκετο, ὅτι
 20 ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνης τις οἰκείων
 παρηκολούθει πίστει ἔνεκα. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἰδόκει τοῖς
 στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι, τὸν πόλεμον
 ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι, ἔστε ἐν τῇ πολεμῇ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ
 προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἕνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν,
 25 Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα· καὶ ἔρχετο ἀπὼν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνδράποικις
 ὡς εἰκοσι.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζάβατον
 ποταμόν, ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι, τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον
 ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπι-
 30 φαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους,

καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ὡς τετρακισίους, μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους· καὶ προσήει μὲν, ὡς φίλος ὢν, πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ἑξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξενον καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνουν καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. Οἱ δ' ὀπισθοφυλάκις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντιποιοῦν δὲ οὐδέν· οἱ τε γὰρ Κρηῖτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξενον, καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἴσω τῶν ὀπλων κατεκίκλειντο· οἱ τε ἄκοντισται βραχύτερα ἡκόντιζον, ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτίον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτιχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων. Οὔτε γὰρ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολυλοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῃ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἱππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον, εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων· ὁπόσον δὲ προδιώκειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοσοῦτο πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. Ὡς τε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διήλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δειλῆς ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κόμας. Ἐνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμῆν ἦν. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ἡτιῶντο, ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ὀρθῶς ἡτιῶντο, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. “Ἀλλ' ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ἡναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν δυναμένους. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ,” ἔφη, “ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνιχωροῦμεν δὲ πάντῃ χαλεπῶς. Τούτῃ σὺν θεοῖς χάρις, ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ, ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἤλθον· ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλώσαι δέ, ὥν δεόμεθα. Νῦν γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι

τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν, ὅσων οὕτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύ-
 ειν δύνανται, οὕτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βύλλοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν
 δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἶόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ
 στρατεύματος διώκειν, ὀλίγον δέ· ἐνθα, οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη,
 5 πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος. Ἡμεῖς
 μὲν οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἶργειν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλά-
 πτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τε τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ
 ἱππέων. Ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥόδιους,
 ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασὶν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος
 10 αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν.
 Ἐκεῖναι γὰρ διὰ τὸ χειροπληθεῖσι ταῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν ἐπὶ
 βραχὺ ἐξικνοῦνται· οἱ δέ γε Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίαις ἐπί-
 στανται χρῆσθαι. Ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψάμεθα τίνες πέπαν-
 ται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτων τῷ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον δῶμεν, τῷ
 15 δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ
 σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινα ἀτέλειαν εὐρί-
 σκωμεν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. Ὅρω
 δὲ καὶ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ'
 ἑμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καταλελειμμένους· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ
 20 ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. Ἄν οὖν τούτους πάν-
 τας ἐκλεξάντες, σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους
 εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοι τι τοὺς φεύγον-
 τας ἀνιάσουσιν." Ἔδοξε ταῦτα· καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς
 σφενδονῇται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱπ-
 25 πεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ στολά-
 δες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν· καὶ ἱππαρχος δὲ ἐπε-
 στάθῃ Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου, Ἀθηναῖος.

Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Μιῖναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο
 πρωϊαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἴδει δια-
 βῆναι, ἧ' ἢ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῦντο αὐτοῖς διαββαίνουσιν
 οἱ πολέμιοι. Διαββεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαίνεται ὁ Μιθρι-
 δάτης πάλιν, ἔχων ἰππείας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδοθή-
 τας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρνην,
 καὶ ἔλαβεν, ὑποσχόμενος, ἦν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐ-
 τῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐμπροσθεν προς-
 βολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων, ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμι-
 σαι ποιῆσαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαββεῖν οὐκ ἀπέχον τῆς 10
 χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης,
 ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. Παρίγγελτο δὲ, τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὕς
 ἴδει διώκειν, καὶ τῶν ὀπιτιῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύουσιν εἶρητο
 θαρρόνως διώκειν, ὡς ἐφεσπομένης ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως. Ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδύναι καὶ τοξεύ- 15
 ματα ἐκινούντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐ-
 θὺς ἔθρον ὁμόσει, οἷς εἶρητο, καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἱ δὲ
 οὐκ ἐδίξαντο, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. Ἐν ταύτῃ
 τῇ διώξει τοῖς βυρβάρους τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοί,
 καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτώ- 20
 καίδεκα· τοὺς δ' ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκτελευτοὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες
 ἤκισαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολέμοις εἶναι ὄραν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον· οἱ
 δ' Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφί-
 κοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγερτα ποταμόν. Ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρή- 25
 μη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Ἀρίσσα· ὥκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ
 παλαιὸν Μῆδοι· τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἦν αὐτῆς τὸ εὖρος πέντε
 καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περι-
 δος δύο παρασάγγαι· ὠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμίαις·
 κρητὶς δὲ ὑπὲρ λιθίνῃ, τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. Τούτῃ 30

βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων ἐλάμβανον τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιος δὲ νεφέλῃν προκαλύψας, ἠφάνισε, μέχρις οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐξέλιπον, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. Πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυρραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. Ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν, ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπειρευγότες.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας ἐξ πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον, μέγα, πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον· ὄρομα δ' ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ἔκουν. Ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξιστοῦ, κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπωκοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος· τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἐξ 15 παρασάγγαι. Ἐνταῦθα ἐλέγεται Μηδία γυνὴ βασιλείως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν, οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροنتήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας τέταρτας. Εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὓς τε αὐτὸς ἦλθεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντου δύναμιν, τοῦ τὴν βασιλείως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, καὶ οὓς Κῆρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ 25 ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπολυ ἐφάνη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγγυς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν ὀπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγών, ἐμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν· σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ το- 30 ζεύειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν, καὶ οὐδείς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρός· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ πάννυ προθυμοῖτο, ῥῆδιον ἦν· καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔβω βελῶν ἀπιχώρει, καὶ [αἱ]

ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι εἰσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ τε Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόων καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοξοτῶν. Μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστιν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν, ὅπου αὐλισκοίτο τῶν τοξευμάτων, τοῖς Κρησί· καὶ διετέλουν χρωμένοι τοῖς τῶν πολέμων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰόντες μακράν. Εὗρισκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μόλυβδος· ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.

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Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι, μῆλον ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δὲ ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐπισιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σίτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολέμων ἐπομένων. Ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἣν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου, ἡ ὁδοῦ στενοτέρας οὐσης. ἡ ὁρῶν ἀναγκαζόντων ἡ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπίστας, καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παραιτομένους· ὥστε δυσχερήτους εἶναι ἀνάγκη, ἀτάκτους ὄντας. Ὅταν δ' αὖ διάσῃ τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους, καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κερμάτων, καὶ ἀθυμῆν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας, τῶν πολέμων ἐπομένων. Καὶ ὁπότε δίοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἡ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος, βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολέμοις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποίησαντο ἐξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκάτον ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκόν- τῆρας, καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχας. Οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι οἱ λοχαγοί, ὁπότε μὲν συγκύπτει τὰ κέρατα, ὑπόμενον ὕστεροι, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι· τότε δὲ παρήγον ἔξωθεν τῶν

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κεράτων. Ὅποτε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξέπιμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόγους· εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῦς· εἰ δὲ πᾶν πλατύ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ ἔκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρήσαν οὗτοι. Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τέτταρας.

Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο σταθμόν, εἶδον βασι-
 10 λειόν τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς· τὴν τε ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ὕφ' ᾧ ἦν κώμη. Καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς γηλόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὥς εἰκός, τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ
 15 τὸν πρῶτον γηλόφον, καὶ κατέβαινον, ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίῃν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρηνὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων· καὶ πολλοὺς κατετίτρωσκον, καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἑλλήνων γυμνήτων, καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῶν ὀπλων·
 20 ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν, ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξῆται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνουῦνται, ὀπλῖται ὄντες· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. Πάλιν δέ, ὅποτε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρα-
 25 τευμα, ταυτὰ ἔπασχον· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταυτὰ ἐγίγνετο· ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας· πλὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνῆγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπε-
 30 τίθεντο οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοικότες, μὴ ἀποτμηθείησαν, καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμιοι. Οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες,

ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας, καὶ ἱατροὺς κατέστησαν ὅκτω· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἔνεκα, καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον καὶ κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλὰς. Ταῦτα δὲ συνενηγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. Τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρᾳ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τιτσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, εὐίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀνάγκη κατασκηῆσαι, οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην, καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπόμαχοι, οἱ τετρωμένοι, καὶ 10 οἱ ἐκείνους φερόντες, καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὄπλα διεξάμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, καὶ ἐπιχείρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολῆσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι, πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον, ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὁρμῶντας ἀλέξασθαι, ἢ πορευομένους ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολέ- 15 μίοις μάχισθαι. Ἦνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δειλὴ, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολέμοις· οὐ ποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βύρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι, μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθοῶντο αὐτοῖς. Πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐστὶ στράτευμα Περσικόν. Οἱ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς 20 δέδονται, καὶ ὥς ἐπιτοπολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ, τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἔνεκα, εἰ λυθείησαν· ἐάν τέ τις θόρυβος γίγηται, δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ, καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος ποιεῖν. Τοῦτου ἔνεκα 25 πόρρῳ ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγλυτνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι συσκευάσασθαι, ἀκουόντων τῶν πολέμιων. Καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπίσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅπῃ ἐγίγνετο, 30 ἀπῆσαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐδόκει λυσিতেλεῖν αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ καταγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἤδη ἐώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ

ἀναζεύξαντες, καὶ διῆλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους· καὶ γίνεται τοσούτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὥςτις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ, νυκτὸς προελθόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδύσιον οἱ βάρε-
 5 βαροι, ἢ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶρα ὁ Χειρίσοφος προκατειλημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς· καὶ κτελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παρα-
 10 γενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελ-
 10 ταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ εἶρα Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἐλάσας ἡρώτα· “Τί καλεῖς;” Ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· “Ἐξέστιν ὄρα· προκατείλη-
 15 πται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν. Ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες
 15 τοὺς πελταστὰς;” Ὁ δὲ λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἰδόκει αὐτῷ ἔφημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν, ἐπιφαινομένων τῶν πολέμιων.
 “Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὦρα γ’,” ἔφη, “βουλεύεσθαι, πῶς τις τοὺς ἄν-
 20 δρας ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου.” Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὄρα τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατεύματος οὖσαν, καὶ
 20 ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐφοδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ
 λέγει· “Κρατίστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἔσθαι. ὥς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μέ-
 25 νειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Ἀλλ’, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρα-
 25 τεύματι· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήσεις, πορεύου
 25 ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ.” “Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι,” ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, “ὁπότερον βούλει, ἐλίσθαι.” Εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενο-
 30 φῶν, ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν, αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι· κτελεύει δὲ οἱ συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὰν γὰρ ἦν, ἀπὸ
 30 τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν. Καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ
 τοῦ στόματος πελταστὰς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ
 πλαισίου. Συνέπεσθαι δ’ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακο-
 σίους, οὓς αὐτὸς εἶγε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ
 πλαισίου.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα. Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι, ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθύς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὤρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος, διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν· πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Πισσαφίρην, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, παρεκλεύετο· “Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες χρόνον, ἀμαχεῖ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα.” Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος 10 εἶπεν· “Οὐκ ἐξ ἰσού, ὡς Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὄχῃ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων.” Καὶ ὅς, ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὠθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφαλόμενος, ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο. Ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ Θάρακας 15 ἔχων τῶν ἱππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιείζετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκλεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν, παρίεναι, μόγις ἱκομένοις. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παύουσι καὶ βάλλουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἕξτε ἠνάγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν, 20 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβαστα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον, ἔσπενδε πεζῇ. Καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γεόμενοι τοὺς πολέμιους.

Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφηνον, ἥ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ 25 Πισσαφίρην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ἀποτραπέμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἔχοντο· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαί, πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐν

τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ, παρὰ τὸν Τίγερτα ποταμόν. Ἦνίκα δ' ἦν
 δαίτη, ἑξαπίνης ἐπιφαίνονται οἱ πολέμιοι ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκαδασμένων ἐν τῷ πε-
 δίῳ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων,
 5 διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κατελείφθησαν.
 Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρτης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν ἐπεχείρησαν
 τὰς κοίμας. Καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἡθύμησάν τινες, ἐν-
 νοούμενοι, μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καύσειεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὁπόθεν
 λαμβάνοιεν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς
 10 βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τά-
 ξεις, ἦνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν [οἱ Ἕλληνες], ἔλε-
 γεν· “Ὁρᾷτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφιέντας, τὴν χώραν ἥδη
 ἡμετέραν εἶναι· ἃ γάρ, ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο, διεπράττιοντο, μὴ
 καίειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὡς ἄλλο-
 15 τριάν. Ἀλλὰ ἐάν που καταλίπωσιν γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,
 ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. Ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρί-
 σοφε,” ἔφη, “δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς καίοντας, ὡς ὑπὲρ
 τῆς ἡμετέρας.” Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· “Οὐκ οὐν ἔμοιγε
 δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη, “καίωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θάττον
 20 παύσονται.”

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς σκηὰς ἀπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. Καὶ
 ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. Ἐνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύ-
 ψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ
 25 δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. Ἀπορουμένοις
 δὲ αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥύδιος, εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ θείλω
 ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι κατὰ τετρακισχίλους ὀπλίτας,
 ἦν μοι, ὦν δέομαι, ὑπερετήσητε, καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορή-
 σητε.” Ἐρωτώμενος δέ, ὅτου δεήσοιτο, “Ἀσκῶν,” ἔφη,
 30 “διςχίλων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δὲ ὄρω ταῦτα πρόβατα, καὶ αἰ-
 γας, καὶ βοῦς, καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα ῥη-
 δίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. Δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν,
 οἷς χρήσθαι περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. Τούτοις δ',” ἔφη, “ζεύξας

τοὺς ἀσκούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὀρμίσας ἑκαστον ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας, καὶ ἀφείς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας, εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ δὲ ἀγαγών, καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας, ἐπιβαλὼ ὕλην, καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω. "Οτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε, αὐτίκα μάλα εἴσεθε· ὁ γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι· ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθαίνειν, ἡ ὕλη καὶ ἡ γῆ σχήσει."

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἀδύνατον· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἱππεῖς, οἱ εὐθύς τοῖς πρῶτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπείρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. Ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν 10 ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξῆσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλαυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο, καὶ οἳ οἱ ἦσαν θανάμᾶζειν, ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τί ἐν νῆ ἔχοιεν. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· 15 οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνῆλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν, τίς ἐκάστη εἴη. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς Μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧς περ ἦκοιεν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς Ἴω, ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι, 20 ἔνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν λέγεται βασιλεὺς· ἡ δὲ διαβρίντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἱσπέραν, ἐπὶ Ἀυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. Τούτους δ' ἔφασαν οἰκτεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλείως οὐκ ἀκούειν· 25 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιάν, δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δὲ οὐδένα ἀπονοσηῖσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν· ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμίγνυσθαι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους, καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτούς.

30

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἑκασταχόσας φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες, ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. Ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς

ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, διὰ τῶν ὁρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν·
τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἤξειν, ἧς
Ὅρόντας ἤρχε, πολλῆς καὶ ἐνδαίμονος. Ἐντεύθεν δὲ εὐ-
πορον ἔφασαν εἶναι, ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. Ἐπὶ
εἰς τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως, ὀπηνίκα καὶ δοκοῖη τῆς ὥρας, τὴν
πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὁρέων ἐδεδοίκε-
σαν, μὴ προκαταληφθεῖη· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δε-
πνήσειαν, συνσκευασμένους πάντα ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἔπε-
σθαι, ἥνικ' ἂν τις παραγγείλῃ.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΤΡΟΤ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ.

Κεφάλαιον α'.

ὍΣΑ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ὥς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐσπέισαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παρὰ βάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλείῳ καὶ Τισσαφέρνης, ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσῶν στρατεύ- 5 ματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πέραδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδού- χια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδό- κει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. 10 Ἦκουον γάρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων, ὅτι, εἰ διελθοῖεν τὰ Καρδού- χια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἦν μὲν βούλονται, διαβήσονται· ἦν δὲ μὴ βούλονται, πε- ριῖτασι. Καὶ τοῦ Ἐυφράτου τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρό- σω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι· καὶ ἔστιν οὗ τὸ στερόν. Τὴν δ' εἰς 15 τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι, πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλα- βεῖν τὰ ἄκρα. Ἰνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, 20 ἠγρικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλλεως πορευόμενοι ἀφι-

- κρύνονται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. Ἐνθα δὲ Χειρίσο-
 φος μὲν ἡγείτο τοῦ στρατεύματος, λαβὼν τὸ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ
 τοὺς γυμνήτας πάντας· Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφυ-
 λαζιν ὀπλίταις εἶπετο, οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γάρ
 5 ἐδόκει κίνδυνος εἶναι, μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπι-
 σθεν ἐπίσποιτο. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρί-
 σοφος, πρὶν τινα αἰσθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δὲ ὕψη-
 γαίτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς
 τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγχεσὶ τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων.
- 10 Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ μὲν Καρδοῦχοι, ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχον-
 τες καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ παῖδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· τὰ
 δ' ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι
 παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ
 Ἕλληνες· οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ
 15 πως [ἂν] ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδοῦχοι διείναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ
 φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ περ βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἦσαν. Τὰ
 μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια, ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι, ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη
 γάρ ἦν. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον, οὔτε
 ἄλλο τι φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν. Ὅτε δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν
- 20 Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἥδη
 σκυταῖοι, διὰ γὰρ τὸ στεγνὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν
 ἢ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατὰβασις εἰς τὰς κώμας, τό-
 τε δὲ συλλεγέντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπέ-
 θεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας, καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κα-
- 25 τέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι τινὲς ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροςδοκίτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν,
 ἐκινδύνευσαν ἂν διαφθαῖναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Καὶ
 ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἡλίσσθησαν· οἱ
 δὲ Καρδοῦχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ
- 30 συνεώρων ἀλλήλους.

Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχα-
 γοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε, τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ
 τὰ δυνατώτατα πορεύεσθαι ἔχοντας, καταλιπόντας τὰ ἄλλα,

καὶ ὅποσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, πάντα ἀφίεναι. Σχολαίαν γὰρ ἔπολουν τὴν πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες, ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν· διπλάσιαι τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. Λόξαν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστάντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις τι ἔκλεψεν, οἷον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. Καὶ 10 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν χειμῶν γίγνεται πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὡπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. Καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπείθεντο, καὶ, στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων, ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξουν καὶ ἐσφενδόων· ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναγκάζοντες σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ 20 θαμινὰ παρηγγεῖλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο. Ἐνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν, ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο, ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἦγε ταχέως, καὶ παρηγγύα ἔπεσθαι· ὥστε δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι πρᾶγμα 30 τι εἶη· σχολὴ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἷτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίγνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλειώνυμος, τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς στολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίλας Ἀρκάς, διαμπερὲς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμόν, εὐθύς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἔλθων πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, ἤτιατό αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. 40 “Καὶ νῦν δύο καλῶ τε καὶ ἀγαθῶ ἄνδρε τεθνήατην, καὶ οὕτε ἀνελέσθαι, οὕτε θάψαι αὐτῶ ἐδυνάμεθα.” Ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Χειρίσοφος· “Βλέπον,” ἔφη, “εἰς τὰ

ὄρη, καὶ ἴδε, ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί. Μία δὲ αὕτη ὁδός, ἣν ὄρης, ὄρηθρα· καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ὄραν ἀνθρώπων ἔξεστί σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἔκβασιν. Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ πως δύ-
 5 ναίμην φθάσαι, πρὶν κατειληφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες, οὓς ἔχομεν, οὐ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν." Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· "Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρῆχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμῶς καὶ ἀναπνεύ-
 σαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναμεν τινὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας
 10 προὔθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν, αὐτοῦ τούτου ἔνεκεν, ὅπως ἡγεμό-
 σιν εἰδοῖσι τὴν χώραν χρῆσθαι μεθ' αὐτῶν."

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἤλεγχον διαλα-
 βόντες, εἴ τινα εἰδεῖεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανερὰν. Ὁ μὲν
 οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη, καὶ μάλα πολλῶν φόβων προσχομένων·
 15 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶντος τοῦ ἑτέρου κατε-
 σφάγη. Ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν, ὅτι οὗτος μὲν διὰ ταῦτα οὐ
 φαίη εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ τυγχάνει θυγάτηρ ἐκῆ παρ' ἀνδρὶ
 ἐκδιδυμένη· αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσασθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυ-
 γλοῖς πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. Ἐρωτώμενος δ', εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐ-
 20 τῇ δυσπάριτον χωρίον, ἔφη, εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκα-
 ταλήψοιτο, ἀδύνατον εἶσεσθαι παρελθεῖν. Ἐνταῦθα ἐδό-
 κει, συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλι-
 τῶν, λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν,
 ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποστάς ἐθειλοντὴς
 25 πορεύεσθαι. Ἐφίστανται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστῶνυμος
 Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκάς, καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκάς. Ἀντι-
 στασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παφράσιος Ἀρκάς, καὶ
 οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι, προςλαβὼν ἐθειλοντὰς ἐκ
 παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· "Εὐ γὰρ οἶδα," ἔφη, "ὅτι ἔσπον-
 30 ται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου." Ἐκ τούτου ἐρω-
 τῶσιν, εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνητῶν ταξιαρχῶν ἐθέλοι συμπο-
 ρεύεσθαι. Ἐφίσταται Ἀριστίας Χίος, ὃς πολλacho πολλοῦ
 ἄξιος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

Κεφάλαιον β'.

Καὶ ἦν μὲν δείλη ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσθαι· καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς· καὶ συντίθενται, τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἣν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας εἶναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, πληθος ὡς διςχιλιοί· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας, ἤγειτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμοι πρὸς 10 ἔχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιϊόντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἦν ἰδεῖ διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιστόχους ἁμαξιαίους, καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους [λίθους], οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας πταίνοντες διεσφεν- 15 δονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ ὁδῷ. Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύχαιντο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπιόντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγγατον δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλα- 20 κήσαντες. Οἱ μέντοι πολέμοι, φοβούμενοι δηλονότι, οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμήρασθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ. Οἱ δέ, ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, κύνελω περιϊόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθιμένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακαπνόντες, τοὺς δὲ κατα- 25 διώσαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμενον, ὡς κατέχοντες τὸ ἄκρον. Οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, παρ' ὧν ἦν ἡ στεγὴ αὕτη ὁδός, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. Ἐφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα
 ὑπέφαινε, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμί-
 ους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμήγη ἐγένετο· ὥστε ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελ-
 θόντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἥ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο,
 5 καὶ ἀλαλάζαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ
 δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες τὴν ὁδόν, φεύγοντες
 ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνησκον· εὖζωνοι γὰρ ἦσαν. Οἱ δ' ἄμφι Χει-
 ρισοφον, ἀκούσαστες τῆς σάλπιγγος, εὐθύς ἔεντο ἄνω κατὰ
 τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτρίβεις
 10 ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, ἧ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες
 ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. Καὶ οὗτοι
 πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ξενο-
 φῶν δέ, ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο,
 ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐδοωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑπο-
 15 ζυγίοις· τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις ὀπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε.
 Πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, κατει-
 λημένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἡ ἀποκόψαι ἦν ἀνάγκη, ἣ
 διεξεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄν
 ἐπορεύθησαν, ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι· τὰ δ' ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη
 20 ἢ ταύτη ἐκβῆναι. Ἐνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις,
 προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθοῖσι τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ,
 ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλονται
 φεύγειν. Καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας, ὅπη ἐδύναν-
 το ἕκαστος, οἱ βύρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ
 25 προσέεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουνσι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ τοῦτόν τε
 παρεληλύθεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἕτερον ὀρῶντες ἔμπροσθεν
 λόφον κατεχόμενον, ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐθις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι.
 Ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν, μή, εἰ ἔρημον καταλείπει τὸν ἡλω-
 κότα λόφον, καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθοῖντο τοῖς
 30 ὑποζυγίοις παριούσιν (ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια, αἵτε
 διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα), καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου
 λοχαγούς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφῶντος, Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀμ-
 φικράτην Ἀμφιδήμον, Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον,

φυγάδα· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δευ-
τερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰρούσιν. Ἐτι
δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν πολὺ ὀρθιωτάτος, ὃ ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ
τῶν προελθόντων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπου-
σιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστόν· ὥστε θαυμαστὸν
γενίσθαι πᾶσι, καὶ ὑπώπτειον, δίδωστας αὐτοὺς, μὴ κυ-
κλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο, ἀπολιπεῖν. Οἱ δὲ ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὀπισθεν γιγνόμενα, πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς
ὀπισθοφυλάκας ἐχώρουν. 10

Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνίστανται ἐπὶ τὸ
ἄκρον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκέλευεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι
λόχοι προσμύξαιεν· καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ
ὁμαλῷ θύειν τὰ ὅπλα εἶπεν. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν
Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγὼς καὶ λέγει, ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν
ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου, καὶ ὅτι τεθνᾶσι Κηφισόδαμος καὶ
Ἀμφικράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας
πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφυλάκας ἀφίσκοντο. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπρα-
ξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, ἤκον ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ·
καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρμηνείας περὶ σπονδῶν,
καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆται. Οἱ δ' ἔφασαν ἀποδῶσαι, ἐφ' ᾧ
μὴ καίειν τὰς κόμας. Συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ἐν
ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρεῖν, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο,
πάντες, οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνεβύβησαν, ἐνταῦθα
ἵσταντο οἱ πολέμιοι. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ
τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο, ἔντο
δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλῶς πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγέ-
νοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέ-
βαιναν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαζαν τὸ σκέλος,
Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν·
Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς Ἀρκὰς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὀπλίτης,
καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς
τοὺς συνταγμένους ἀπῆλθον.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκή-
 νησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκλαῖς, καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖοις
 δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὃν ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς
 εἶχον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο, ὥστε λα-
 6 βόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀποδοῦναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα
 ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥς περ νομίζε-
 ται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνεν ἡγεμόνος
 ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ ὅπη εἴη στενὸν
 χωρίον προκαταλαμβάνοντες, ἐκώλυνον τὰς παρόδους. Ὅπο-
 10 τα μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὀπισθεν ἐκ-
 βαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, ἔλυσεν τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς
 πρώτοις, ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλόντων·
 ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὀπισθεν ἐπιθοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων, καὶ
 πειρώμενος ἀναπέραν γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλόντων, ἔλυσεν τὴν
 15 ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὀπισθεν. Καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως
 ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμείλοντο. Ἦν
 δὲ ὁπότε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖ-
 χον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν· ἑλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν,
 ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο
 20 εἶχον ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. Ἄριστοι δὲ τοξόται ἦσαν·
 εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπλήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ δι-
 πλήχη· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευράς, ὁπότε τοξεύουσιν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω
 τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προεσβαίνοντες. Τὰ δὲ τοξεύ-
 25 ματα ἔχωρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων· ἐχρῶν-
 το δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκορτίους, ἐναγκυ-
 λῶντες. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρηῖτες χρησιμώτατοι
 ἐγένοντο· ἤρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡύλισθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν· καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπέιχε δὲ τῶν ὀρίων ὁ ποταμός ὡς 8
 ἑξ ἢ ἐπὶ σταδία τῶν Καρδούχων. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἡύλισθησαν μάλα ἡδέως, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. Ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσας περ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλισαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ, ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα 10
 ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ καὶ Τισσαφέρους. Ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων, ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὀρώσιν ἰππέας που πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξωπλισμένους, ὡς κωλύσοντας διαβαίνειν· πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἰππέων, ὡς 15
 κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι Ὀρόντου καὶ Ἀρτούχου, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μαρδόνιοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι· ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέφυρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας. Αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὐταί, ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν, τρία ἢ 20
 τέτταρα πλίθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπέιχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἢ ὀρωμένη ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω, ὥς περ χειροποίητος· ταύτῃ ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ ταχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμός
 μεγάλῳις λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ 25
 ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἤρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγύγνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βίη· ἀνεχώρησαν οὖν, καὶ αὐτοῦ
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.

Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους
 ἰώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς
 ὄπλοις. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι
 μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν
 5 κωλύοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους
 τοὺς Καρδούχους ὀπισθεν. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν
 καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμενον ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ
 ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πίδαις δεδῆσθαι, αὐταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ αὐ-
 τόματοι περιφύνηναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν, ὅπουσον
 10 ἐβούλετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσο-
 φον, καὶ λέγει, ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσσεσθαι· καὶ διη-
 γεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. Ὁ δὲ ἤδετό τε, καὶ ὥς τάχιστα ἔως
 ὑπέφαιεν, ἐθύοντι πάντες οἱ παρόντες στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ
 ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου. Καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ
 15 τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρηγγέλλον τῇ στρατιᾷ
 ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. Ἀριστῶντι δὲ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτερχον
 δύο νεανίσκω· ἤδεσαν γὰρ πάντες, ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρι-
 στῶντι καὶ δειπνῶντι προσελθεῖν, καὶ, εἰ καθεύδοι, ἐπεγεί-
 ραντα εἰπεῖν, εἰ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Καὶ
 20 τότε ἔλεγον, ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φεύγαντα συλλέγοντες ὥς ἐπὶ
 πῦρ, κάπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐν πέτραις καθηκού-
 σαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ
 παιδίσκας, ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν
 πέτρᾳ ἀντρώδει. Ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφισι δόξαι, ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι δια-
 25 βαίνειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱππεῦσι πρόσβατον εἶναι
 κατὰ τοῦτο. Ἐκδύντες δὲ ἔφασαν, ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια
 γυμνά, ὥς νευσούμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δέ, πρό-
 σθεν διαβαίνειν, πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβάντες, καὶ
 λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια, πάλιν ἤκειν.
 30 Εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε, καὶ τοῖς νεανί-
 σκοις ἐρχεῖν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τὰ τε
 ὀνειράτα καὶ τὸν πόρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελεῖσαι.
 Σπείσας δὲ εὐθύς ἤγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσο-

φον· καὶ διηγούνται ταῦτά. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίη. Στείλαντες δέ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δέ, συγκαλίσαντες τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐβουλευόντο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαῖεν, καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν μηδὲν κακὸν πά- 6 σχοιεν. Καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ δισβαίνειν, ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι· τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μίσθῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγούντο δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες 10 τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρα στάδια.

Πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἰπ-
πίων. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας
τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσο- 15
φος στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ὑποδὺς ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε· καὶ τοῖς λοχαγούς ἐκέλευεν
ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν
δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. Καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν
ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδύων· ἀλλ' 20
οὐπω ἐξικνούντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαίανίζον
πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυσον δὲ καὶ αἱ
γυναῖκες ἅπασαι. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ
Ξενοφῶν, λαβὼν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους, 25
ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν
τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη· προσποιούμενος ταύτῃ δια-
βάς ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ἰππίας. Οἱ δὲ
πολέμοι, ὀρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπειῶς τὸ
ὔδαρ διαπερῶντας, ὀρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θίον- 30
τας εἰς τοῦμπυλιν, δέισαντες, μὴ ἀποκλεισθείησαν, φεύγου-
σιν ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔκβασιν ἄνω.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτειναν ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.

Λύκιος δέ, ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ Αἰσχίνης, ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἰδόντων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος.
 5 Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ, ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθύς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους. Οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὀρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας, ὀρῶντες δὲ ὀπλίτας ἐπιόντας σφίσι, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

10 Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἰώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπέχωρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες, ὥς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας
 15 ἐπιδιώξει, ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολείπομενα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθιῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. Καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε· Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἀντία τὰ ὄπλα ἔθηκετο· καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιή-
 20 σασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγούς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχας πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἵναι, οὐραγούς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὥς ἐώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ
 25 ὄχλου ψιλουμένους, καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θάπτον δὴ ἐπήεσαν, ὧδ' αἱ τινες ἄδοντες. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν, ὅτι αὖν παραγγέλλῃ. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτούς, καταβαίνοντας ὁ
 30 Ξενοφῶν, πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὥς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλισμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς, καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους

τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. Τῷς δὲ παρ' ἐαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὴν σφενδόνη ἐκινῆται, καὶ ἄσπὶς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν αἰεὶ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπικτιγὴς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγούς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ διαβαίνειν, ἥ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὥς μὴ ἐμποδίζεῖν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔστοιτο, ὅς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γίνηται.

Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὁρῶντες ὀλίγους ἦδη τοὺς λοιπούς 10 (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένων τεταγμένων ἔρχοντο ἐπιμελησόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δὲ ἱταίρων), ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασείως, καὶ ἔρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὠρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδίδξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὥπλισμένοι, ὥς 15 μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς τὴν εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. Ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτιγὴς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θᾶπτον· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τὰ ἐναντία στρέψαντες, ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν 20 τινες αἰσθόμενοι, πάλιν ἱδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν· οἱ δὲ πολλοί, καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. Οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες ἀνθριζόμενοι, καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προΐοντες, ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφώντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώ- 25 θησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Ἐπὶ δὲ διέβησαν ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίων ἅπαν καὶ λίους γιγλέφους, οὐ μῖον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν

ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι, διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. Εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην, μεγάλη τε ἦν, καὶ βυσιλείον τε εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαφυλῇ. Ἐντεῦθεν
 5 δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρις ὑπερῆλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. Οὗτος δ' ἦν μέγας μὲν οὐ, καλὸς δέ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν. Ὁ δὲ
 10 τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. Ὁ Παρχος δ' αὐτῆς ἦν Τηρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος· καὶ ὁπότε παρῆν, εὐθὺς ἄλλος βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλεν. Οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππείας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἐρηγνέα, εἶπεν, ὅτι βούλοιο διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. Τοῖς
 15 δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον, ἡρώτων, τί θελοῖ. Ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιο ἐφ' ᾧ μήτ' αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν, μήτ' ἐκείνους καίειν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσων δέοιτο. Ἐδόξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἐσπέισαντο ἐπὶ
 20 τούτοις.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου, παρασάγγας πέντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τηρίβαζος παρηκολούθει ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὥς δέκα σταδίους· καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασιλεία καὶ κώμας περὶ πολλὰς, πολλῶν τῶν
 25 ἐπιτηδείων μεσάς. Στρατοπειδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν γίνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηρῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ ἰδῶσαν πολέμον οὐδένα, καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἔδοκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος. Ἐνταῦθα εἶχον πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσα ἐστὶν
 30 ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σῖτον, οἶνους παλαιούς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὄσπρια παντοδαπά. Τῶν δὲ ἀποσκηδανυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον, ὅτι κατίδοιεν σφάτευμα, καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοντο. Ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς

οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στρα-
τευμα πάλιν. Ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἰδόκει διαι-
θριάζειν. Νυκτερεσόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα, ἐπιπίπτει
χιὼν ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀν-
θρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπέδησεν ἡ
χιὼν· καὶ πολλὸς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ
ἄλεινόν ἦν ἡ χιὼν ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅτε μὴ παραφύξειη.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς εἶν ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα,
τάχα ἀναστάς τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχισεν.
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ 10
ἐχρῶντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὗρίσκετο χρίσμα, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο
ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύσιον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον, ἐκ τῶν
πικρῶν, καὶ τρεβλινθινον. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ
μύρον εὗρίσκετο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἰδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι κατὰ τὰς 15
κώμας εἰς στέγας. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ
καὶ ἡδονῇ ἔθρον ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δέ, ὅτε
τοπρότερον ἀπήισαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπηρσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας
δίκην ἰδίδουσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες. Ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν τῆς
νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τεμενίτην, ἄγκρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, 20
ἐνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρὰ· οὐ-
τος γὰρ ἰδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἦδη ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα,
τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα, καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. Πορευ-
θεὶς δέ, τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν
ἦκεν ἄγων, ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικόν, καὶ φαρέτραν, καὶ σί- 25
γαριν, οἶανπερ καὶ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ
[τὸ] ποδαπὸς εἶη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δὲ
ἀπὸ τοῦ Τηριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι.
Οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτόν, τὸ στρατεύμα ὅπόσον τε εἶη, καὶ ἐπὶ
τίνι συνειλεγμένον. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι Τηριβάζος εἶη ἔχων 30
τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ μισθοφόρους Χάλνβας καὶ Τιό-
χους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτόν ἔφη, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ
τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥπερ μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα
ἐπιδηοόμενον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

Ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στρατεύμα συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθύς, καταλιπόντες φύλακας καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον Συμφάλιον, ἐπορεύοντο, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἁλόντα ἄνθρωπον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελιασταὶ, προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔμεναν τοὺς ὀπλίαις, ἀλλ' ἀνὰκραγόντες ἔθιον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον [τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων]. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφηνον· ὅμως δὲ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ ἵπποι 10 ἦλωσαν ὥς εἴκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τηριβάζου ἔάλω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλῖναι ἀργυρόποδες, καὶ ἐκπώματα, καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς ἀκίεναί τὴν ταχιστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μή τις ἐπίθεις γένοιτο τοῖς κα- 15 ταλειμμένοις. Καὶ εὐθύς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπήεσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἔδοκει πορευτέον εἶναι ἢ δύναιτο τάχιστα, πρὶν ἢ συλλεγεῖναι τὸ στρατεύμα πάλιν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. Συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθύς, ἐπορεύοντο 20 διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τηριβάζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς ἐρήμους τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ διεβαῖνον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς 25 τὸν ὀμφαλόν. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπός, καὶ ἄνεμος βορρῆας ἐναντίος ἔπνει, παντάπασιν ἀποκαίων πάντα, καὶ πηγνύς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Ἐν-

Θα δὴ τῶν μάντιών τις εἶπε σφαγιάζεσθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ· καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. Ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυρία· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπώλειτο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὥς τριάκοντα. Διηγέροντο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πολλὰ· οἱ δὲ ὀψὲ προσιώντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. Οἱ οὖν πύλας ἤκοντες καὶ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ προσέεισαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοῖεν αὐτοῖς πυροὺς ἢ ἄλλο τι ὃν ἔχοιεν βρωτῶν. Ἐνθα δὴ μετεδίδουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὃν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. 10 Ἐνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκαίετο, διατηχομένης τῆς χιόνος βόθρου ἐγίγνοντο μεγάλοι ἕρπες ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὐ δὴ παρῆν μετρίῃ τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίαςαν. Ξενοφῶν 15 δὲ ὀπισθοφυλακῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πέπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἄγγελοι, ὅτι τὸ πάθος εἶη. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπε τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων, ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμιῶσι, καὶ ἐάν τι φάγωσιν, ἀναστήσονται, περιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ ποῦ τι ὄρφῃ βρωτόν, διεδίδου, καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τοὺς δυνάμε- 20 νους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. Πορευομένων δέ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὕδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης γυναῖκας καὶ κόρας πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος. Αὗται ἡρώτων 25 αὐτούς, λίγες εἰεν. Ὁ δὲ ἐρμηνεύς εἶπε Περσισί, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλείᾳ πορεύοιντο πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. Αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχοι ὅσον παρασάγγην. Cί δ', ἐπεὶ ὀψὲ ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κομάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὕδροφόροις. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι 30 ἐδινηθήσαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελεῖσαι τὴν ὁδόν, ἐνυκτέρευον ἄσπετοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθα

τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολε-
 μίων συνειλεγμένοι τινές, καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποϋ-
 γίων ἤρπαζον, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἐλεί-
 ποντο δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς
 5 χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύ-
 λους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. Ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς
 ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφ-
 θαλμῶν πορευόιτο· τῶν δὲ ποδῶν, εἴ τις κινεῖτο, καὶ μηδέ-
 ποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι, καὶ εἰ τὴν γύατα ὑπολύοιτο. Ὅσοι δὲ
 10 ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύνοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάν-
 τες, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπλήγνυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπει-
 δὴ ἀπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καφθάται αὐτοῖς, πε-
 ποιημένοι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν
 ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντο τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν
 15 τι χωρίον, διὰ τὸ ἐκλειοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα, εἵκαζον τετη-
 κίναι. Καὶ ἐτετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινά, ἣ πλησίον ἦν αἰμιλίουσα
 ἐν γάπη· ἐνταῦθα ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πο-
 ρεύσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας, ὡς ᾔσθετο,
 εἶδετο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ, μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέ-
 20 γων, ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι· καὶ τελευτῶν
 ἐχαλέπαιεν. Οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι
 πορευθῆναι. Ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι, τοὺς ἐπομέ-
 νους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπιπέσοιεν τοῖς
 κάμνουσι. Καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῶ
 25 θορύβῳ, ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν
 ὀπισθοφύλακες ἔξαναστάντες, αἶτε ὑγιαίνοντες, ἔδραμον εἰς
 τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύ-
 ναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. Οἱ
 δὲ πολέμιοι δέισαντες, ἤκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν
 30 γάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγατο.

Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθε-
 νοῦσιν, ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσιν τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πορευό-
 μενοι, πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν, ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ

ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόρος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκα-
καλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ, οὐδεμία καθιστήκει· καὶ
ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ
ὑποχωροῖεν. Ὁ δὲ παριῶν καὶ παραπροπέμπων τῶν πελ-
ταστῶν τοὺς ἰαχυροτάτους, ἐκέλευε σκίψασθαι, τί εἴη τὸ
κωλύον. Οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ
στράτευμα. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἠύλισθησαν
αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακάς, οἷας ἐδύνατο,
καταστησάμενοι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ Ξενοφῶν,
πέμπας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους, ἀναστήσαν- 10
τας ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγκάζειν προΐναι. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος
πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κόμης σκεφομένους, πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευ-
ταῖοι. Οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας τούτοις
παρίδοσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο·
καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διελθυθέναι, ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κόμῃ, ἣ 15
Χειρίσοφος ἠύλιζετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε
κατὰ τὰς κόμας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. Καὶ
Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, διαλαχόντες ὥς
ἰώρων κόμας, ἐπορεύοντο, ἕκαστοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες.

Ἐνθα δὲ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος, λοχαγός, ἐκέλευσεν 20
ἀφίεναι αὐτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θίγων ἐπὶ τὴν κό-
μην, ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς
κομήτας καὶ τὸν κομάρχην· καὶ πῶλους εἰς δασμὸν βασι-
λεῖ τρεφομένους, ἑπτακαίδεκα· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κο-
μάρχου, ἐννάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λα- 25
γὼς ὥχετο θηράσων, καὶ οὐχ ἦλθε ἐν ταῖς κόμαις. Αἱ δ' οἰ-
κίαι ἦσαν κατ'ἀγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω
δ' εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δ' εἰσοδοὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρνυταί, οἱ δὲ
ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ κλίμακας κατέβαινον. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις
ἦσαν αἶγες, ὄιες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔχοντα τούτων· τὰ 30
δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφετο. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ
καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κριθίνος ἐν κρατῆρσιν·
ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς· καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέ-

κειντο, οἱ μὲν μείζους, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνата οὐκ ἔχοντες. Τούτους δ' ἔδει, ὅποτε τις διψῶν, λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στέμα μύξιν· καὶ πᾶν ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχείοι· καὶ μάλα ἡδὺ πόμα συμμαθόντι ἦν.

• Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σύν-
 δειπρον ἐποίησατο, καὶ θαρσύνειν ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν, λέγων, ὅτι
 οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσειτο, τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμ-
 πλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίσιν, ἣν ἀγαθόν τι τῇ στρα-
 τεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστι δ' ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθνει γέ-
 10 νωνται. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπαιχνεῖτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶ-
 νον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατοφωρυγμένος. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν
 τὴν νύκτα διασκηφίσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν
 ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κοι-
 μάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. Τῇ
 15 δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν, λαβὼν τὸν κοιμάρχην, πρὸς τὸν
 Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παῖροι κώμῃ, ἐτρίπετο
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐω-
 χυνμένους καὶ εὐθυμούμενους, καὶ οὐδαμῶθεν ἀφίεσαν,
 πρὶν παραθεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρι-
 20 τίθεισαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνεα, ἐρίφεια, χοί-
 ρεια, μόσχια, ὀρνίθια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις, τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις,
 τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. Ὅποτε δὲ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βού-
 λοιτο προπιεῖν, εἴλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα· ἐνθεν ὑποκύψαντα
 ἔδει ῥοφούντα πιεῖν ὥςπερ βοῦν. Καὶ τῷ κοιμάρχῃ ἐθίδουσιν
 25 λαμβάνειν, ὃ τι βούλοιοτο. Ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο·
 ὅπου δὲ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ὕδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβαν-
 εν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον καὶ
 ἐκείνους σκηνοῦντας, εὐτεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στα-
 30 φάνοις, καὶ διακανοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρ-
 βαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παιμὲν ἐδεικνυσαν ὥςπερ ἐνεοῖς ὃ
 τι δέοι ποιεῖν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρί-
 σοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κοιμάρχην διὰ

τοῦ περσιζόντος ἐρμηνείας, τίς εἶη ἡ χώρα. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἀρμενία. Καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων, τίνοι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι βασιλεῖ θασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν, ἣ εἶη. Καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ὥχετο ἄγων ὁ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον, ὃν εἰλήφει, παλαιότερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχη ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῦσαι, ὅτι ἤκουσεν, αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἥλου, δεδιώς, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκάνκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ πῶλον. Ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μέiones μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολλῶ. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχης, περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακκία περιελεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακκίων κατεδύοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστροῦ.

18

Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχη, πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ [τοῦ] ἄρτι ἡβασκοντος. Τοῦτον δ' Ἐπισθένεια Ἀμφιπολίτη παραδίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσαιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι. Καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. Ἦγειτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἦδη τ' ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ ὁ Χειρισόφος αὐτῷ ἔχαλεπάνθη, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κόμας ἦγεν. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. Ὁ δὲ Χειρισόφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδησε δ' οὐ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρὰς ὥχετο, καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. Τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφος καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἣ τοῦ

ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθίνης δὲ ἡράσθη τε τοῦ παιδός, καὶ οἰκαδὲ κομίσας πιστοτάτῃ ἐχρήτο.

Μετὰ τοῦτο σταθμοὺς ἐπὶ ἐπορεύθησαν, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς 5 πλεθριαῖον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. Χειρίσσοφος δέ, ἐπεὶ κατέιδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων ὡς πεντήκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ 10 κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάζῃ τοῖς πολεμίους· παρηγγεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤλθον σὶ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

“Οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ 15 ὄρους· ὥρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγέλλειν μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι, εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὐριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος.” “Ἐμοὶ δέ γε,” ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, “δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ ὡς τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισά- 20 μένους ὡς τάχιστα ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. Εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ὀρῶντες ἡμᾶς πολέμιοι θαρσαλέωτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρόντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.”

Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ δ’ οὕτω γινώσκω· 25 Εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχεύμεθα· εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὡς ῥᾶστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτεῖον εἶναι, ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρώμενον 30 πλεόν, ἢ ἐφ’ ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ’ οὐδαμῇ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλ’ ἢ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδόν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον, τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλεῖψαι τι πειραῖσθαι λαθόντας καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθάσαντας, ἢν δυνώμεθα, μᾶλλον,

ἥ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἄνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. Πολὺν γὰρ ἔχον, ὄφθιον ἄμαχ' εἶναι, ἥ ὁμαλόν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων· καὶ νύκτωρ ἄμαχ' [ὡς] μᾶλλον ἂν τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὀρώη τις, ἥ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος· καὶ ἡ τροχίαι τοῖς ποσὶν ἄμαχ' ἰοῦσιν εὐμενιστέρα ἢ ἡ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. Κλέψαι δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἔξον μὲν νυκτός εἶναι, ὡς μὴ ὀρώσθαι· ἔξον δὲ ἀπειθεῖν τοσοῦτον, ὡς μὴ αἰσθῆσιν παρήειν. Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι, ταύτῃ προςποιούμενοι προςβαλεῖν, ἐρημονιτέρῳ ἂν τῷ ἄλλῳ ὄφει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μᾶλλον ἀθρόοι οἱ πολέμιοι. Ἄτις τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβύλλομαι; Ἦμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω, τοὺς Λακιδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθύς ἐκ παιδῶν κλέπτειν μελετᾶν· καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν, ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. Ὅπως δὲ ὡς κρᾶτιστα κλέπτητε καὶ πειράσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἐὰν ληφθῆτε κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. Ἦν οὖν μᾶλα σοὶ καιρός ἐστιν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάσσειν μέντοι, μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄφους, ὡς μὴ πολλὰς πληγὰς λάβωμεν.”

“Ἀλλὰ μέντοι,” ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, “καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἀκούω τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μᾶλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατιυτοὺς μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κρᾶτιστοι ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὦρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν.”
 “Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ἔτοιμός εἰμι, τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὴν δειπνήσωμεν, εἶναι καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. Ἐχὼ δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήτες τῶν ἐφεπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἑλαβόν τινας ἐπεδρεῦσαντες· καὶ τούτων πυνθάνομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ γέμεται καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε, ἥνπερ ἅπας λάβωμεν τοῦ ὄφους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται. Ἐλπίζω μέντοι, αὐτὰ τοὺς πολέμιους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὴν ὕδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ

ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἕν· “Ο δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε· “Καὶ τί δὲ σὲ εἶναι, καὶ λείπειν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλ’ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθελούσιοι φαίνωνται.” Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὀπλίτας ἔχων, καὶ Ἀρσιτίας Χίος γυμνήτας, καὶ Νικόμαχος Οἰταῖος γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καί-
 10 δια πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη ταύτην προσάξειν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείκνησαν, καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ὄχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ᾗσθοντο ἐχόμενον τὸ
 15 ὄρος, ἐρηγόρεσαν, καὶ ἔκαιον πυρὰ πολλὰ διὰ νυκτός. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἦγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπήρσαν. Τῶν δ’ αὖ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ’ αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ
 20 ἄκρα. Πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοισι, συμμιγνύουσιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελ-
 τασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμέ-
 νους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βύδην ταχὺ ἐφέλπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις.
 25 Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἐώρων ἡττώ-
 μενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέφυρα δὲ ἀμύπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κό-
 πτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποιοῦν. Ὡς δ’ ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ
 30 μας πολλῶν [καὶ] ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἤλθον.

Κεφάλαιον ζ'.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Τυόχους, σταθμούς
 πέντε παρασάγγας τριώκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε·
 χωρία γὰρ ᾤκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
 πάντα εἶχον ἀνακειομμένοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς χω-
 ρίον, ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν, οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνελθυσότες
 δ' ἦσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλά,
 Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθύς ἥκων· ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμιν, ἄλλη προσήει, καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη·
 οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλω.
 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφυλάξι καὶ πελ- 10
 τασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· “Εἰς
 καλὸν ἦκει· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ
 ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον.”

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλευόντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος
 ἐρωτῶντος, τί τὸ κωλύον εἶη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· 15
 “Ἀλλὰ μία αὕτη ἐστὶ πάροδος, ἣν ὀρεῖς· ὅταν δὲ τις ταύτη
 περᾶται παρίεναι, κυλινδοῦσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς
 ὑπερχούσης πέτρας· ὅς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθε-
 ται.” Ἄμα δ' ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ συντetricimμένους ἀνθρώπους
 καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. “Ἴν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν,” 20
 ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παρίεναι; οὐ γὰρ
 δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀρώμεν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώ-
 πους· καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὥπλισμένους. Τὸ δὲ χωρί-
 ον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὀρεῖς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστιν, ἃ δεῖ βυλ-
 λομένους παρελθεῖν. Τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλείθρον δασὺ πέτυσι 25
 διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἱστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν
 πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλιν-
 δομένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἤδη γίνεται ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον,
 ὃ δεῖ, ὅταν λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι, παραδραμεῖν.” “Ἀλλ'
 εὐθείας,” ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, “ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ 30

δασὺ παρῖναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί." "Αὐτὸ ἄν," ἔφη, "τὸ δέον εἴη· θάπτιον γὰρ [ἀληθῶς] ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. Ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα, ἐνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν [ὑστερον] τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἢν δυνώμεθα· καὶ ἀπελθεῖν δὲ ῥάδιον, ἢν βουλώμεθα."

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Καλλιμάχος Παρράσιος, λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμεινον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. Μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον
 10 ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἀθροοί, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἓνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστάννυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δέ, ἐφίστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλές ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἱστάναι
 15 πλεῖον, ἢ τὸν ἓνα λόχον. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Καλλιμάχος μηχαναῖται τι· προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου, ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτός, δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, ἀνεχάζετο εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλεον ἢ δέκα ἄμαζαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας, ὡς ἑρῆ τὸν Καλλιμάχον,
 20 ἀέποiei, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θιέωμενον, δέiσας, μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε τὸν Ἀριστάννυμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλίσας, οὔτε Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα, ἱταίρους ὄντας, οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτός, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας. Ὁ δὲ Καλλιμάχος, ὡς ἰώρα αὐτὸν παρῖόντα,
 25 ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἵτιος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παρέρθει αὐτοὺς Ἀριστάννυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς, καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ὡς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσείδραμον, οὐδεὶς ἔτι πέτρος ἄνω
 30 θεν ἤνιχθη. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θίαμα· αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες, φέπτονται τὰ παιδία, εἴτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατεφύβιπτον· καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡς αὐτῶς. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Λινίας ὁ Στυμφάλιος, λοχαγός, ἰδὼν τινα θίοντα ὡς φέποντα ἑαυτὸν, στολήν

ἔχοντα καλήν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς αὐτὸν κολύσων. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾷται, καὶ ἀμφότεροι ὥχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι, καὶ ἀπέθανον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν ὄλλοιγοι πάνυ ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ καὶ πρόβατα.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σταθμοὺς ἐπὶ παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διῆλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοὺς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν περὺγων σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη, καὶ παρὰ 10 τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον, ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικήν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον, ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιτο· καὶ ἀποτέμοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς, ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἦδον, καὶ ἐχόρευον, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ὀφείσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλον· εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν, μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. Οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πο- 15 λίσμασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι· ὥκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄχυροῖς· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διετράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν, ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ 20 τὸν Ἀρπασον ποταμόν, εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθινῶν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, διὰ πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἴ- 25 κοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, οἰκουμένην· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Γυμνάς. Ἐκ ταύτης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἐπάγοι αὐτούς. Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος, λέγει, ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς εἰς χωρίον, ὅθεν [πέντε ἡμερῶν] ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μή, 30 τεθνάναι ἐπηγγέλλετο. Καὶ ἡγούμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἰθεῖν καὶ φθέρειν τὴν χώραν· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο, ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ

τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δ' ἦν τῷ ὄρει Θήχης. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔρους, καὶ κατεῖδον τὴν θάλατταν, πολλὴ κραυγὴ ἐγένετο. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν
 5 καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφυλάκες, ᾤθησαν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ καὶ ὀπισθεν οἱ ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας· καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλάκες ἀπέκτεινάν τε τινας καὶ ἐζώγησαν, ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι· καὶ γέφυρα ἔλαβον δασέων βοῶν ὠμοβοῖνα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν.
 10 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθιον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας, καὶ πολλῶ μεῖζον ἐγίγνετο ἢ βοή, ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους ἐγίγοντο, εὐδοκεῖ δὴ μεῖζόν τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι. Καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον, καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππείας ἀναλαβὼν, παρεβόηθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ
 15 ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, “θάλαττα, θάλαττα,” καὶ παρεγγυώντων. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔθιον ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφυλάκες, καὶ τὰ ὑποξίγια ἡλάνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβυλλον ἀλλήλους, καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, δακρύοντες. Καὶ
 20 ἐξαπίνης, ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους, καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. Ἐνταῦθα ἀντίθισαν πλῆθος δερμάτων ὠμοβοῖνων, καὶ βακτηρίας, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέφυρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέφυρα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. Μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀποπέμ-
 25 πουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, δώρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, ἵππον, καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν, καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ δαρεϊκούς δέκα· ἥτει δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς, οὐ σκηνήσουσι, καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἱσπέρα
 30 ἐγένετο, ᾤχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπῴων.

Κεφάλαιον η'.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μαικρώνων σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας θέκα. Τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὃς ὠρίζε τὴν τε τῶν Μαικρώνων χώραν καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθινῶν. Εἶχον δ' ὑπερδέξιον χωρίον οἷον χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμόν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος θαυὺς δένδρεσι παχέσι μὲν οὐ, πυκνοῖς δέ. Ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔκοπτον, σπυῖοντες ὡς τάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἐλθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες, ἔχοντες γέφυρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίλους χιτῶνας, καταντιπύρας τῆς διαβάσεως παραπεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο, καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμόν ἐρύλιπτον· ἐξικνοῦντο δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως, οὐδ' ἔβλαπτον οὐδένα.

Ἐνθα δὴ προσέρχεται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν τις ἀνὴρ, Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων, ὅτι γιγνώσκω τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. “Καὶ οἶμαι,” ἔφη, “ἐμὴν ταύτην τὴν πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι.” “Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει,” ἔφη· “ἀλλὰ διαλέγου, καὶ μάθι πρῶτον αὐτῶν, τίνες εἰσίν.” Οἱ δ' εἶπον, ἐρωτήσαντος, ὅτι Μάκρωνες. “Ἐρώτα τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “αὐτούς, τί ἀντιτετάχαται, καὶ χρήζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι;” Οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο· “Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔρχεσθε.” Λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοί, “ὅτι γε οὐ κακῶς ποιήσαντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες, ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θύλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι,” Ἡρώτων ἐκεῖνοι, εἰ δοῖεν αὖ τούτων τὰ πιστά. Οἱ δ' ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. Ἐντεῦθεν διδόνασιν οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκείνοισι Ἑλληνικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δ' ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέροι.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθύς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὠδοποιοῦν, ὡς διαβιβάσσοντες, ἐν μέσοις ἀναμειγμένοι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν· καὶ ἀγοράν, οἷαν ἐδίναντο, παρῆχον· καὶ παρήγαγον τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἕστε ἐπὶ
 5 τὰ τῶν Κόλχων ὅρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φάλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄξοντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς συλλεγεῖσι βουλευ-
 10 σασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούνται. Ἐλέξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν, “ὅτι δοκεῖ, παύσαντας τὴν φάλαγγα, λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοδον, τῇ δὲ εὐοδον εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει, ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα ταύ-
 15 τὴν διεσπασμένην ὀρώσιν. Ἐπειτα δέ, ἣν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιτεύσουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρήσονται ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται· ἐὰν δ’ ἐπὶ ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαναμαστόν, εἰ διακοπείη ἡμῶν ἡ φάλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀθρόων πη καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀν-
 20 θρώπων [πολλῶν] συμπεσόντων· εἰ δὲ πη τοῦτο ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ, ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησασμένους, τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόντας τοῖς λόχοις, ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πο-
 25 λεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἔσχατοι λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτοι προσίασιν, ἥ τε ἂν εὐοδον ἦ, ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. Καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλείπουν οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται λόχον ὀρθιον προσ-
 30 ιόντα. Ἐὰν τί τις πιέζῃται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει· ἦν τε εἰς πη δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνῃ τῶν πολεμίων.” Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποιοῦν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ

εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιού, εἶπε τοῖς στρατιώταις· “Ἄνδρες, οὗτοι εἰσιν, οὓς ὄρατε, μόνοι ἐτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν τοῦ μὴ ἡδὴ εἶναι, ἐνθα πάλα σπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἣν πως δυ-
νάμεθα, καὶ ὧμούς δεῖ καταφάγειν.”

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοὺς λόχους 5
ὀρθίους ἐποίησαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὲ
τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκα-
τόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριῇ ἐποίησαντο,
τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἕξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιού, τοῖς δὲ κα-
τὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστιους. Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύ- 10
ησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες
ἐπορεύοντο. Καὶ Χαιρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν
αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ ἕξω γινόμενοι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φύλαγος
ἐπορεύοντο· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὥς εἶδον αὐτούς, ἀντιπορεύον-
ται· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον διε- 15
σπύσθησαν, καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἑαντῶν φύλαγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ
κεινὸν ἐποιήσαν. Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχάζοντας οἱ κατὰ τὸ
Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, νο-
μίσαντες φεύγειν, ἀνὰ κράτος ἔθιον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ
τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκα- 20
δικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομήνιος. Οἱ δὲ
πολέμιοι, ὥς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλ-
λος ἄλλῃ ἐτράπετο. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπε-
δεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἐχού-
σαις. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν, ὅ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ 25
δὲ σμῆνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν
στρατιωτῶν, πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἤμουν, καὶ
κάτω διεχώριε αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἵστασθαι·
ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλγαν ἐδηδοκότες, σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐψέκων·
οἱ δὲ πολὺ, μαινομένοις· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. Ἐκείν- 30
το δὲ οὕτω πολλοί, ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὴ
ἦν ἀθυμία. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ

τὴν αὐτὴν που ὤραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ὥςπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμοὺς ἑπτὰ παρασάγγας, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν, εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἐλληνίδα, οἰκουμένην, ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρᾳ. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐλπίζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. Ἀγορᾶν δὲ παρεῖχον [ἐν] τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζοῦντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς
 10 Ἕλληνας καὶ ξένια ἔδωσαν, βούς καὶ ἄλφита καὶ οἶνον. Συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίων Κόλχων, τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων· καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον [τὸ] πλεόν, βόες. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν εὐξάντο, παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀπυθῦσαι
 15 τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρῃ καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνᾳ· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ θεοῖς, ἃ εὐξάντο. Ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἐνθαπερ ἐσκήνουν· εἶλοντο δὲ Ἀρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην (ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ἐτι ὦν οἰκοθὲν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακτανών, ξυήλη πατάξας), δρόμου τε ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ
 20 τοῦ ἀγῶνους προστατῆσαι.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέσματα παρέδωκαν τῷ Ἀρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, ὅπου τὸν δρόμον ποιηκῶς εἶη. Ὁ δὲ δείξας, ὅπου παρεστηκότες ἐτύγγανον, “Οὗτος ὁ λόφος,” ἔφη, “κάλλιστος τρέχειν, ὅπου ἂν τις
 25 βούληται.” “Πῶς οὖν,” ἔφασαν, “δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ θασεῖ οὕτως;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Μῦλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών.” Ἰγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλεῖστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρητὲς πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθειον· πάλην δὲ, καὶ πυγμὴν, καὶ παγκράτιον
 30 ἕτεροι· καὶ καλὴ θεία ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καί, αἵτε θεωμένων τῶν ἱταίρων, πολλή φιλονεικία ἐγένετο. Ἐθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι· καὶ ἔδει αὐτούς, κατὰ τοῦ πρινοῦς ἐλάσαντας, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀναστρέψαντας πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βω-

μόν ἄγειν. Καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ
πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι.
Ἐνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακίλευσις ἐγένετο
αὐτῶν.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΤΡΟΤΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

ΒΙΒΑΙΟΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ.

Κεφάλαιον α'.

“ΟΣΑ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ μέχρις ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, καὶ ὡς εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἕλλη-
νίδα ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθυσαν, ἃ εὗξαντο σωτήρια θύ-
σειν, ἐνθα πρῶτον εἰς φίλταν γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν
λόγῳ δεδήλωται. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες ἐβουλευόντο
περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας· ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Ἀντιλέων Θού-
ριος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ὦ ἄνδρες,
ἀπειρηκα ἤδη συσκευαζόμενος, καὶ βαδίζων, καὶ τρέχων, καὶ
10 τὰ ὄπλα φέρων, καὶ ἐν τάξει ἰών, καὶ φυλακὰς φυλάττων,
καὶ μαχόμενος· ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ ἤδη, παυσάμενος τούτων τῶν
πόνων, ἐπεὶ θάλατταν ἔχομεν, πλεῖν τὸ λοιπόν, καὶ ἔκτα-
θίς, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς, καθεύδων ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλ-
λάδα.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεθορύβησαν,
15 ὥς εὖ λέγοι· καὶ ἄλλος ταῦτα ἔλεγε, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόν-
τες. Ἐπειτα Χειρίσοφος ἀνέστη, καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε· “Φίλος
μοι ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, ναυαρχῶν δὲ τυγχάνει· ἦν
οὖν πέμπητέ με, οἶμαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων καὶ
πλοῖα, τὰ ἡμᾶς ἄξοντα· ὑμεῖς δ’ ἐπειπερ πλεῖν βούλεισθε,
20 περιμένετε, ἔστ’ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω· ἤξω δὲ ταχέως.” Ἀκούσαν-

τες ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἡσθησάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, πλεῖν αὐτὸν ὥς τάχιστα.

Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “Χει-
ρίσοφος μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ πλοῖα στέλλεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναμενοῦμεν.
“Οὐα οὖν μοι δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ταῦτα
ἐρῶ. Πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δεῖ πορίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς πο-
λεμίας· οὔτε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἐστὶν ἱκανή, οὔτε οὔτου ὠνησόμεθα
πάρεστιν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἡ δὲ χώρα πολεμία· κίνδυ-
νος οὖν, πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἢ ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως
πορεύησθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνο-
μαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὥς
σώζησθε· ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.” Ἔδοξε ταῦτα.
“Ἔτι τοίνυν ἀκούσατε καὶ τὰδε· Ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ ὑμῶν
ἐκπορεύουσιν τινες. Οἴομαι οὖν βίλτιον εἶναι, ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν
τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξίεναι, φράζειν δὲ καὶ ὅποι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πλη-
θος εἰδῶμεν τῶν ἐξιόντων καὶ τῶν μενόντων, καὶ συμπερα-
σκευάζωμεν, ἐάν τι δέῃ· καὶ βοηθῆσαι τισιν ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ, εἰ-
δῶμεν, ὅποι δεήσῃ βοηθεῖν· καὶ ἂν τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων ἐγχει-
ρῇ τι ποιεῖν, συμβουλεύωμεν, πειρώμενοι εἰδέναι τὴν δύνα-
μιν, ἐφ’ οὗς ἂν ἴωσιν.” Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. “Ἐννοεῖτα δὴ καὶ
τόδ’,” ἔφη· “Σχολὴ τοῖς πολέμοις ληΐζεσθαι· καὶ δικαίως
ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν· ἔχομεν γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων· ὑπερκάθηνται
δ’ ἡμῶν. Φύλακας δὴ μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον
εἶναι· ἐὰν οὖν κατὰ μέρος μερισθέντες φυλάττωμεν καὶ
σκοπῶμεν, ἥτιον δύναιτ’ ἂν ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν οἱ πολέμοι.
Ἔτι τοίνυν τὰδε ὁρᾶτε· Εἰ μὲν ἡπιστάμεθα σαφῶς, ὅτι
ἤξει πλοῖα Χειρίσοφος ἄγων ἱκανά, οἷδέν ἂν ἔδει, ὢν μέλλω
λέγειν· νῦν δ’, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ’ ἄδηλον, δοκεῖ μοι πειραῖσθαι πλοῖα
συμπαρασκευάζειν καὶ αὐτόθεν, Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἔλθῃ, ὑπαρ-
χόντων ἐνθάδε, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις πλευσούμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
ἄγῃ, τοῖς ἐνθάδε χρησόμεθα. Ἐγὼ δ’ ὁρῶ πλοῖα πολλάκις
παρὰ πλείοντα· εἰ οὖν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Τραπεζοντιῶν
μακρὰ πλοῖα, κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν αὐτά, τὰ πηδᾶ-

λια παραλυόμενοι, ἕως ἂν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄξοντα γένηται, ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἀπορήσαιμεν κομιδῆς, οἷας δεόμεθα.” Ἐδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. “Ἐννοήσατε δ’,” ἔφη, “εἰ εἰκὸς καὶ τρέφειν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, οὓς ἂν καταγύγωμεν, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡμῶν ἔνεκα
 5 μένωσι, καὶ ναῦλον συνθέσθαι, ὅπως ὠφελοῦντες καὶ ὠφελῶνται.” Ἐδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. “Δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι,” ἔφη, “ἦν ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὴ ἐκπεραλνῆται, ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πλοῖα, τὰς ὁδούς, ἃς δυσπόρους ἀκούομεν εἶναι, ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκουμέναις πόλεσιν ἐντελλασθαι ὁδοποιεῖν· πεί-
 10 σονται γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι.”

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀνέκραγον, ὥς οὐ δέοι ὁδοιπορεῖν. Ὁ δέ, ὥς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐκούσας ἔπεισε ποιεῖν τὰς ὁδούς· λέγων, ὅτι θάττον
 15 ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἢν εὐποροὶ γένωνται αἱ ὁδοί. Ἐλαβον δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντορον παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ἣ ἐπέστησαν Δέξιππον, Λακωνικὸν περλοικον. Οὗτος, ἀμελήσας τοῦ συλλαβεῖν πλοῖα, ἀποδράς ἤχετο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, ἔχων τὴν ναῦν. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν ὕστερον· ἐν Θράκῃ
 20 γὰρ παρὰ Σεύθῃ πολυπραγμονῶν τι ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. Ἐλαβον δὲ καὶ τριακόντορον, ἣ ἐπεστήθη Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος· ὃς ὅποσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα κατήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα, εἴ τι ἦγον, ἐξαιρούμενοι, φύλακας καθίστασαν, ὅπως σῶα εἴη·
 25 τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις ἐχρήσαντο εἰς παραγωγὴν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνετύγχανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐ. Κλεινέτος δ’ ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλον λόγον πρὸς χωρίον χαλεπὸν, αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

Κεφάλαιον β΄.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ εἴη ἢ λαμβάνειν, ὥστε ἀπαν-
θήμεναι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα, ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν
ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ἐξάγει εἰς Δρίλας τὸ ἡμισυ
τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ φυλάττειν κατέλιπε τὸ στρα-
τόπεδον· οἱ γὰρ Κόλχοι, αἵ ἐκπεπωκότιες ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, 5
πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἄθροοι, καὶ ὑπερεκάθητο ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. Οἱ
δὲ Τραπεζούντιοι, ὁπόθεν μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ῥάδιον ἦν λα-
βεῖν, οὐκ ἤγον· φίλοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν· εἰς τοὺς Δρίλας δὲ
προθύμως ἤγον, ὅφ' ὧν κακῶς ἔπασχον, εἰς χωρία τε ὀρεῖνὰ
καὶ δυσβάτα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολεμικωτάτους τῶν ἐν τῷ 10
Πόντῳ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἄνω χώρῃ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὁποῖα τῶν
χωρίων τοῖς Δρίλαις ἀλώσιμα ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἐμπιπράντες
ἀπῆρσαν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὕς καὶ βοῦς, ἢ ἄλλο τι
κτῆνος τὸ πῦρ διαπεφυγός. Ἐν δ' ἦν χωρίον, [ὃ] μητρό- 15
πολις αὐτῶν [ἐκαλεῖτο]· εἰς τοῦτο πάντες συνεβόηκσαν·
περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν χαράδρα ἰσχυρῶς βαθεῖα, καὶ πρόσοδοι
χαλεπαὶ πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. Οἱ δὲ πειτασταί, προδραμόντες
στάδια πέντε ἢ ἕξ τῶν ὀπιτῶν, διαβάντες τὴν χαράδραν,
ὄρῳντες πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα, προσέβαλλον 20
πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. Συνείποντο δὲ καὶ δορυφόροι πολλοί, οἱ
ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξωρηγμένοι· ὥστε ἐγένοντο οἱ διαβάντες
πλείους, ἢ εἰς διςχιλλοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μαχόμενοι
οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τάφος ἦν περὶ αὐ-
τὸ εὐρεῖα ἀναβεβλημένη, καὶ σκόλοπις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς, 25
καὶ τύρσεις πυκναὶ ξύλιναι πεποιημέναι, ἀπείναι ἤδη ἐπε-
χείρουν· οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς. Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀελ-
θεῖν, ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἢ κατάβασις ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου εἰς τὴν
χαράδραν, πέμπουσι πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ὃς ἡγεῖτο τοῖς ὀπιλ-
ταις. Ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν λίγει, “ὅτι ἐστὶ χωρίον χρημάτων πολ- 30

λῶν μετόν· τοῦτο οὔτε λαβεῖν δυνάμεθα· ἰσχυρὸν γὰρ
 ἐστίν· οὔτε ἀπείθεϊν ῥῥῆδιον· μάχονται γὰρ ἐπιξιληλυθό-
 τες, καὶ ἡ ἄφοδος χαλεπή·”

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν, προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν χαρά-
 5 θραν, τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἐκέλευε θύεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα· αὐτὸς δὲ
 διαβὰς σὺν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐσκοπεῖτο, πότερον εἴη κρεῖττον
 ἀπάγειν καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας, ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας διαβι-
 βάσειν, ὡς ἀλόντος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου. Καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ μὲν ἀπά-
 γειν οὐκ εἶναι ἄνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν, ἔλειν δ' ἂν ᾤοντο καὶ οἱ
 10 λοχαγοὶ τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν συνεχώρησε, τοῖς ἱεροῖς
 πιστεύσας· οἱ γὰρ μάντις ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν, ὅτι μάχη
 μὲν ἔσται, τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν λο-
 χαγοὺς ἔπεμπε διαβιβάσσοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμμενεν
 ἀναχωρίσας ἅπαντας τοὺς πελταστάς, καὶ οὐδένα εἶα ἀκρο-
 15 βολλίσσασθαι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκον οἱ ὀπλίται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν λόχον
 ἕκαστον ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν, ὡς ἂν κράτιστα οἴηται ἀγω-
 νιῆσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων, οἱ πάντα
 τὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλοις περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιοῦντο. Καὶ
 οἱ μὲν [λοχαγοὶ] ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς πελτασταῖς πᾶσι
 20 παρήγγελλε διηγκυλισμένους ἵεναι, ὡς, ὅποταν σημήνη, ἀκον-
 τίξειν δεῆσον· καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπιβεβλησθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευ-
 ραῖς, ὡς, ὅποταν σημήνη, τοξεύειν δεῆσον· καὶ τοὺς γυμνή-
 τας λίθων ἔχειν μεστὰς τὰς διφθέρας· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους
 ἔπεμπε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρῆσαν
 25 αστο, καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ ὑπολοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀξιούντες τού-
 των μὴ χείρους εἶναι πάντες παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλ-
 λήλους μὲν δὴ συνεώρων· (μνηνοειδῆς γὰρ ἦν· ἡ τάξις διὰ τὸ
 χωρίον·) ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθίγχατο,
 ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἠγάλαξαν καὶ ἔθιον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλίται,
 30 καὶ τὰ βέλη ὁμοῦ ἐφέρετο, λόγχοι, τοξεύματα, σφενδόνας,
 καὶ πλείστοι δ' ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν λίθοι· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ πῦρ
 προσέφερον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πληθους τῶν βελῶν ἔλιπον οἱ
 πολέμιοι τὰ τὲ σταυρώματα καὶ τὰς τύρσεις· ὥστε Ἀγασίας

Στυμφάλιος καὶ Φιλόξενος Πελληνεὺς, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν χιτῶνι μόνον ἀνέβησαν, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον εἶλκε, καὶ ἄλλος ἀναβιβήκει, καὶ ἡλώκει τὸ χωρίον, ὡς ἰδοῦκει. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασται καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ εἰσδραμόντες ἤρπαζον, ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· ὃ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, σιὰς κατὰ τὰς πύλας, ὁπό- 5 σους ἐδύνατο κατεκώλυε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἕξω· πολέμιοι γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπ' ἄκροις τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς. Οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου μετὰξὺ γενομένου, κραυγὴ τ' ἐγίγνετο ἔνδον, καὶ ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἔχοντες αἷμα λαβόν, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ τετρωμένος· καὶ πολὺς ἦν ὠθισμὸς ἀμφὶ τὰ θύρετρα. Καὶ 10 ἐρωτώμενοι οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες, ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἄκρα τις ἐστὶν ἔνδον, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλοί, οἱ παύουσιν ἐκδεδραμηκότες τοὺς [ἔνδον] ἀνθρώπους.

Ἐνταῦθα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε Τολμίδην τὸν κήρυκα, εἶναι εἰσω τὸν βουλούμενόν τι λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ἔντο πολλοὶ εἰσω, 15 καὶ νικῶσι τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας οἱ εἰσω ὠθούμενοι, καὶ κατακλείουσι τοὺς πολέμιους πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἕξω τῆς ἄκρας πάντα διηρπάσθη, καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο οἱ Ἕλληγες· οἱ δ' ὀπλίται ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ σταύρωμα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν φέρουσαν. Ὁ 20 δὲ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐσκόπουν, εἰ οἶόν τ' εἴη τὴν ἄκραν λαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ οὕτω σωτηρία ἀσφαλής· ἄλλος δὲ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἰδοῦκει εἶναι ἀπελθεῖν· σκοποῦμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ἔδοξε παντάπασιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον. Ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυρούς ἕκαστοι 25 τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διήρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεῖους καὶ φορτία ἔχοντας ἐξεπέμποντο καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ πληθὺς· κατέλιπον δὲ οἱ λοχαγοί, οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξέθεον ἔνδοθεν πολλοί, γέφυρα καὶ λόγχας ἔχοντες, καὶ κνημίδας, καὶ κράνη Παφλα- 30 γονικά· καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαινον τὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσης ὁδοῦ· ὥς τ' οὐδὲ διώκειν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν [αὐτοὺς] κατὰ τὰς πύλας, τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν

φερούσας· καὶ γὰρ ξύλα μεγάλα ἐπερρίπτουν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε
 χάλιπὸν ἦν καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἡ νύξ φοβερά ἦν
 ἐπιούσα. Μαχομένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορομένων, θεῶν τις
 αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. Ἐξαπίτης γὰρ ἀνέλαμ-
 5 ψεν οἰκία τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, ὅτουδ' ἑνάψαντος. Ὡς δ' αὕτη συν-
 ἐπιπτεν, ἔφευγον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκιῶν. Ὡς δ' ἔμα-
 θεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐνάπτειν ἐκέλευς καὶ
 τὰς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ οἰκίας· αἱ δὲ ξύλιναι ἦσαν· ὥστε καὶ ταχὺ
 ἐκαίοντο. Ἐφευγον οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν οἰκιῶν.
 10 Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα δὴ ἔτι μόνοι ἐλύπον, καὶ δηλοὶ ἦσαν,
 ὅτι ἐπικείμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ τε καὶ καταβάσει. Ἐνταῦθα
 παραγγέλλει φορεῖν ξύλα, ὅσοι ἐτύγγανον ἔξω ὄντες τῶν βε-
 λῶν, εἰς τὸ μέσον ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανὰ
 ἦδη ἦν, ἀνῆψαν· ἀνῆπτον δὲ καὶ τὰς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ χαρά-
 15 κωμα οἰκίας, ὅπως οἱ πολέμιοι ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχοιεν. Οὕτω
 μόλις ἀπῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ
 τῶν πολεμίων ποιησάμενοι. Καὶ κατεκαύθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις
 καὶ αἱ οἰκαὶ καὶ αἱ τύρσεις καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα καὶ τᾶλλα
 πάντα, πλην τῆς ἄκρας.
 20 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆλσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτή-
 δεα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν κατὰβασιν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν εἰς Τραπε-
 ζοῦντα, πρηνὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ στενὴ, ψευδενέδραν ἐποιήσαντο·
 καὶ ἀνὴρ, Μυσὸς τὸ γένος, καὶ τοῦτομα τοῦτο ἔχων, τῶν
 Κρητῶν λαβῶν τέτταρας ἢ πέντε, ἔμενεν ἐν λασίῳ χωρίῳ, καὶ
 25 προεποιεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους λανθάνειν πειραῶσθαι· αἱ δὲ
 πέλται αὐτῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη διεφαινοντο, χαλκαῖ οὐσαι.
 Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολέμιοι, ταῦτα ὁρῶντες, ἐφοβοῦντο ὡς ἐνέδραν
 οὐσαν· ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ἐν τούτῳ κατέβαινεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδό-
 κει ἱκανὸν ἦδη ὑπεληλυθέναι τῷ Μυσῷ, ἐσήμνηε φεύγειν
 30 ἀνὰ κράτος· καὶ ὅς ἔξαναστὰς φεύγει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.
 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κρηῖτες (ἀλλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ δρό-
 μῳ) ἐκπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς ὕλην κατὰ τὰς νάπας κυ-
 λινδούμενοι ἐσώθησαν· ὁ Μυσὸς δέ, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν φεύ-

γων, ἐβόα βοηθεῖν· καὶ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνέλαβον τετραμένον. Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχώρησαν βαλλόμενοι οἱ βοηθήσαντες, καὶ ἀντιτοξούντες τινες τῶν Κρητῶν· οὕτως ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον πάντες σῶοι ὄντες.

Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἦκεν, οὔτε πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἦν, οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν λαμβάνειν ἔτι, ἐδόκει ἀπιτεόν εἶναι. Καὶ ἐς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα τοὺς τε ἀσθενούντας ἐνεβίβασαν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετραράκοντα ἔτη, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν· καὶ Φιλήσιον καὶ Σοφαίνετον, τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰςβίβασαν· 10
 τες, τούτων ἐκέλευον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ὁδοποιουμένη ἦν. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασοῦντα τριταῖοι, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, Σινωπίων ἄποικον, ἐν τῇ Κολχίδι χώρῃ. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας δέκα· καὶ ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἀρ- 15
 θμός, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι. Οὗτοι ἐσώθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῆς χιόνος, καὶ εἴ τις νόσῳ.

Ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων γεγόμενον ἀργύριον· καὶ τὴν δεκάτην, ἣν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι 20
 ἐξῆilon καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι, διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοί, τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος, φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος ἔλαβε. Ξενοφῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος, ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησανρόν, καὶ ἐπέγραψε τό τε αὐ- 25
 τοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου, ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανε· ξένος γάρ ἦν αὐτῷ. Τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ὅτι ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν, κατέλιπε παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐ-

τὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει ἵνα [μετὰ Ἀγησιλάου ἐν Κορωνείῃ]·
 καὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἣν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῇ, ἑαυτῷ ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δέ
 τι πάθοι, ἀναθεῖναι, ποιησάμενον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὃ τι οἶστο
 χαριῆσθαι τῇ θεῷ. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦν-
 5 τος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι, ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰ-
 κισθέντι παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς
 Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων, καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην
 αὐτῷ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ λαβὼν, χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ θεῷ, ὅπου
 ἀνέϊλεν ὁ θεός. Ἔτυχε δὲ διὰ μέσου ῥέων τοῦ χωρίου
 10 ποταμὸς Σελινοῦς. Καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέ-
 μιδος νεὼν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς παραρρέει, καὶ ἰχθύες δὲ ἐν
 ἀμφοτέροις ἔννεσι καὶ κόγχοι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χω-
 ρίῳ καὶ θῆραι πάντων, ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἀγρευόμενα θηρία.
 Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ναὸν καὶ βωμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου·
 15 καὶ τολοιπὸν αἰὲ δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὠραῖα, θυ-
 σίαν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ· καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχω-
 ροι, [ὁμοῦ] ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, μετεῖχον τῆς ἑορτῆς. Πα-
 ρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν ἄλφιτα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τρα-
 γήματα, καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ρομῆς λάχος, καὶ
 20 τῶν θηρευομένων δέ. Καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιοῦντο εἰς τὴν
 ἑορτὴν οἱ τε Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν·
 οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες συνεθήρων· καὶ ἡλίσκετο τὰ
 μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χωρίου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης,
 σύες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τόπος, ἧ' ἐκ Λα-
 25 κεδαιμόνος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται, ὡς εἴκουσι σταδίοι
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἱεροῦ. Ἐνὶ δ' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τόπῳ
 καὶ [λειμὼν καὶ] ἄλση καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μευτά, ἱκανὰ καὶ
 σῦς καὶ αἰγας καὶ οἷς τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν
 εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι. Περὶ δ' αὐ-
 30 τὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλλος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη, ὅσα ἐστὶ
 τρωκτὰ ὠραῖα. Ὁ δὲ ναός, ὡς μικρὸς μέγας, τῷ ἐν Ἐφέ-
 σῳ εἴκασται· καὶ τὸ ξύανον ἔυικεν, ὡς κυπαρίσσινον χρυσοῦ
 ὄντι, τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. Καὶ στήλη ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναόν,

γράμματα ἔχουσα· **ΙΕΡΟΣ Ο ΧΩΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕ-
ΜΙΔΟΣ. ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΟΤΜΕΝΟΝ,
ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΘΕΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ
ΕΤΟΣ, ΕΚ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΕΠΙ-
ΣΚΕΤΑΖΕΙΝ· ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΗ ΤΑΥΤΑ, ὁ
ΤΗΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ.**

Κεφάλαιον δ΄.

Ἐκ Κεραισούντος δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν ἐκπορίζοντο οἰκίαι
καὶ πρόσθεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατὰ γῆν ἐπορεύοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Μοσυνοίκων ὁρίοις, πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς
Τιμησίθεον τὸν Τραπεζούντιον, πράξενον ὄντα τῶν Μοσυ- 10
νοίκων, ἐρωτῶντες, πότερον ὥς διὰ φίλλας, ἢ ὥς διὰ πολέ-
μιας πορεύσονται τῆς χώρας. Οἱ δ' εἶπον, ὅτι οὐ διοί-
σειεν· ἐπίστανον γὰρ τοῖς χωρίοις. Ἐντεῦθεν λέγει ὁ Τι-
μησίθεος, ὅτι πολέμιοι εἰσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα· καὶ
ἐδόκει καλίσαι ἐκείνους, εἰ βούλοιντο συμμαχίαν ποιήσα- 15
σθαι· καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὁ Τιμησίθεος, ἤκεν ἄγων τοὺς ἄρ-
χοντας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφίκοντο, συνῆλθον οἱ τε τῶν Μοσυνοί-
κων ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν
Ξενοφῶν, ἡρμήνευε δὲ Τιμησίθεος.

“Ὡ ἄνδρες Μοσύνοικοι, ἡμεῖς διασωθῆναι βουλόμεθα οὐ
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεζῇ· πλοῖα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν· κωλύουσι δὲ
οὗτοι ἡμᾶς, οὓς ἀκούομεν ὑμῖν παλεμίους εἶναι. Ἐὶ οὖν
βούλεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν συμμαχούς, καὶ τιμωρή-
σασθαι, εἴ τι πώποθ' ὑμᾶς οὗτοι ἠδίκησαν, καὶ τολοιπὸν
ὑμῶν ὑπηκόους εἶναι τούτους. Εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀφήσετε, σέ- 20
ψασθε, πόθεν αὐτοῖς ἂν τοσαύτην δύναμιν λάβοιτε σύμμα-
χον.” Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Μοσυνοίκων,
ὅτι καὶ βούλοιντο ταῦτα, καὶ δέχοιντο τὴν συμμαχίαν.
“Ἄγετε δὴ,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι,

ἂν σύμμαχοι υμῶν γενώμεθα· καὶ ὑμεῖς τί οἶοί τε ἔισσθαι ἡμῖν συμπράξαι περὶ τῆς διόδου ;” Οἱ δ’ εἶπον, “ὅτι ἱκανοὶ ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὴν τῶν ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἡμῖν πολεμίων, καὶ δεῦρο ὑμῖν πέμψαι ναῦς
 5 τε καὶ ἄνδρας, οἵτινες ὑμῖν συμμαχοῦνται τε καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγήσονται.”

Ἐπὶ τούτοις πιστὰ δόντες καὶ λαβόντες, ὥχοντο· καὶ ἔχον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας· ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο ἐκβάντες, εἰς τάξιν
 10 ἔθιντο τὰ ὄπλα· ὁ δὲ εἰς ἔμενε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν, λαβόντες τὰ πλοῖα, ἀπέπλευσαν· οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἐξετάζαντο ὧδε· Ἔστησαν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ὥσπερ οἱ χοροί, ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντες γέφρα πάντες λευκῶν βοῶν θασεία, εἰκασμένα κιττοῦ πετάλω· ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ παλτὸν ὡς ἐξάπηχυν,
 15 ἔμπροσθεν μὲν λόγχην ἔχον, ὅπισθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ξύλου σφαιροειδῆς. Χιτωνίσκους δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνη σκύτινα, οἷα περ τὰ Παφλαγονικά, κρώβυλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον ἐγγυτάτῳ τιαροειδῇ· εἶχον δὲ καὶ σαγάρεις σιδηρεῖς.
 20 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξηρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄδοντες ἐπορεύοντο ἐν ῥυθμῷ, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀπλων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπορεύοντο εὐθύς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπὶ χωρίον, ὃ ἐδόκει ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι· ὥκειτο δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, τῆς μητροπόλεως καλου-
 25 μένης αὐτοῖς, [καὶ] ἐχούσης τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν Μοσυνοίκων· καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ πόλεμος ἦν· οἱ γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦτ’ ἔχοντες ἐδόκουν ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ πάντων Μοσυνοίκων εἶναι. Καὶ ἔφασαν τούτους οὐ δικαίως ἔχειν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὃν καταλαβόντας πλεονεκτεῖν.

30 Εἰπόντε δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινεῖς, οὐ ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀρπαγῆς ἕνεκεν. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, προσιόντων, τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο τοῦ χωρίου, ἐκδραμόντες τρέπονται αὐτούς· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συ-

χνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τῶν συναναβάντων Ἑλλήνων τι-
νύς, καὶ ἐδίωκον, μέχρις οὗ εἶδον τοὺς Ἑλληνας βοηθουῦντας·
εἶτα δὲ ἀποτραπόμενοι ὥχοντο· καὶ ἀποτεμόντες τὰς κε-
φαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς τε Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῖς
ἑαυτῶν πολεμίοις· καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον, νόμῳ τινὶ ἄδοντες. 5
Οἱ δ' Ἑλληνας μάλα ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἐπε-
ποιήκεσαν θρασυτέρους, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐξελθόντες Ἑλληνες σὺν
αὐτοῖς ἐπεφύγεσαν, μάλ' ὄντες συχνοί· ὃ οὐκ ἔπαυτο πρόσθεν
ἐπεποιήκεσαν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ. Ξενοφῶν δέ, συγκαλίσας
τοὺς Ἑλληνας, εἶπεν· “Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μηδὲν ἄνυ- 10
μήσητε ἕνεκα τῶν γεγενημένων· ἴσται γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἀγαθὸν
οὐ μείον τοῦ κακοῦ γέγνηται. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε,
ὅτι οἱ μίλλοντες ἡμῖν ἡγήσεσθαι τῷ ὄντι πολέμοι εἰσιν,
οἷσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ
ἀμελήσαντες τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως, καὶ ἱκανοὶ ἡγησάμενοι 15
εἶναι σὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις ταῦτά πράττειν, ἅπερ σὺν ἡμῖν,
δικὴν δεδῶκασιν· ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἦττον τῆς ἡμετέρας τάξεως
ἀπολείπονται. Ἄλλ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ
τοῖς φίλοις οὖσι τῶν βαρβάρων δόξετε κρείττους αὐτῶν εἶ-
ναι, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δηλώσετε, ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἀνδράσι 20
μαχοῦνται νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἐμάχοντο.”

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἔμειναν· τῇ δ' ὕστε-
ρα ἡμέρᾳ θύσαντες, ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλίεργησαν, ἀριστήσαντες, ὀρθίους
τοὺς λόχους ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώ-
ρυμον κατὰ ταῦτα ταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, τοὺς τοξότας με- 25
ταξὺ τῶν λόχων [ὀρθίῳ ὄντων] ἔχοντες, ὑπολείπομένους δὲ
μικρὸν τοῦ στόματος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν. Ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολε-
μίων, οἱ εὗζωνοι κατατρέχοντες τοῖς Ἰλλοῖς ἔβουλλον. Τού-
τους οὖν ἀνέστελλον οἱ τοξόται καὶ οἱ πελτασταί· οἱ δ' ἄλ-
λοι βάδην ἐπορεύοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ 30
προτεραίᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτράπησαν, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς. Ἐν-
ταῦθα γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι ἦσαν ἀντιτεταγμένοι. Τούτους μὲν οὖν
πελταστὰς ἐδέξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐμάχοντο· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγ-

γὺς ἦσαν οἱ ὀπλίται, ἐτράποντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ εὐθὺς εἶποντο, διώκοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὴν μητρόπολιν· οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται ἐν τάξει εἶποντο. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἄνω ἦσαν πρὸς ταῖς τῆς μητροπόλεως οἰκίαις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάν-
 5 τες γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον τοῖς παλτοῖς· καὶ ἄλλα δόρατα ἔχοντες παχέα, μακρά, ὅσα ἀνὴρ ἂν φέροι μό-
 λης, τούτοις ἐπειρῶντο ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκ χειρός.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὕφειντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' ὁμόσας ἐχώρουν, ἔφυγον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, ἅπαντες λιπόντες τὸ χω-
 10 ρίον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ὃ ἐν τῷ μούσυνι τῷ ἐπ' ἄκρου ὠκοδομημένῳ, ὃν τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ αὐτοῦ μένοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα, οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ πρότερον αἰρεθέντι χωρίῳ· ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς μούσυνοις κατεκαύ-
 15 θησαν. Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, διαρπάζοντες τὸ χωρίον, εὗρισκον
 θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄρτων νενημένων πατρίους πε-
 ρυσινῶν, ὥς ἔφασαν οἱ Μοσύνοικοι· τὸν δὲ νέον σίτον σὺν
 τῇ καλαμῇ ἀποκείμενον· ἦσαν δὲ ζεαὶ αἱ πλεῖσται. Καὶ
 δελφίνων τεμάχη ἐν ἀμφορεῦσιν εὗρίσκετο τεταριχευμένα,
 καὶ στέαρ ἐν τεύχεσι τῶν δελφίνων, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσύνοι-
 20 κοί, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ ἐλαίῳ. Κάρυα δ' ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἀνωγαίων ἦν πολλὰ τὰ πλατεῖα, οὐκ ἔχοντα διαφτῆν οὐδεμί-
 αν. Τούτῳ καὶ πλείστῳ σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο ἔφοντες καὶ ἄρτους
 ὀπιῶντες. Οἶνος δ' εὗρίσκετο, ὃς ἄκρατος μὲν, ὅζυνς ἐφαί-
 νετο εἶναι ὑπὸ τῆς αὐστηρότητος· κεραιθεῖς δέ, εὐώδης τε
 25 καὶ ἡδύς.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἀριστήσαντες ἐνταῦθα, ἐπορεύοντο εἰς
 τὸ πρόσω, παραδόντες τὸ χωρίον τοῖς συμμαχήσασι τῶν
 Μοσυνοίκων. Ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παρήεσαν χωρία τῶν
 σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντων, τὰ εὐπροσώματα οἱ μὲν ἔλεπον,
 30 οἱ δὲ ἐκόντες προσεχώρουν. Τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τοιαῦδ' ἦν τῶν
 χωρίων· ἀπεῖχον αἱ πόλεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων σταδία ὀγδοήκοντα,
 αἱ δὲ πλεον, αἱ δὲ μείον· ἀναβοάοντων δὲ ἀλλήλων σννή-
 κουν εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας πόλεως. Οὕτως ὑψηλῇ

τε καὶ κοίλῃ ἢ χώρᾳ ἦν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐν τοῖς φέ-
 λοις ἦσαν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων σι-
 τευτούς, τεθραμμένους καρῦσις ἐφ' ὅοις, ἀπαλοὺς καὶ λευκοὺς
 σφόδρα, καὶ οὐ πολὺ δέοντας ἴσους τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος
 εἶναι· ποικίλους δὲ τὰ νῶτα, καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πάντα ἑστιγ-
 μένους ἀνθέμιον. Ἐξήτουν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑταίραις, αἷς ἦγον
 οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐμφανῶς συγγίγνεσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν σφίσι
 οὗτος. Λευκοὶ δὲ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. Τούτους
 ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευσάμενοι βαρβαρωτάτους διελθεῖν, καὶ
 πλείστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κειρωσιμένους. Ἐν τε 10
 γὰρ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, ἐποίουν, ἅπερ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιή-
 σαιαν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἂν τολμῶεν· μόνοι τε ὄντες ὅμοια
 ἔπραττον, ἅπερ ἂν μετ' ἄλλων ὄντες· διελέγοντό τε ἑαυτοῖς,
 καὶ ἐγίλων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ὠρχοῦντο ἐφιστάμενοι, ὅπου τύ-
 χοιεν, ὥς περ ἄλλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. 15

Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας οἱ Ἕλληνες, διὰ τε τῆς πολέμιας
 καὶ τῆς φιλίας, ἐπορεύθησαν ὁκτὼ σταθμούς· καὶ ἀφι-
 κνοῦνται εἰς Χάλυβας. Οὗτοι ὀλγοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ὑπήκοοι
 τῶν Μοσυνοίκων· καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ
 σιδηρείας. Ἐντεῦθεν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Τιβαρηνοὺς. Ἢ δὲ 20
 τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν χώρα πολὺ ἦν πεδινωτέρα, καὶ χωρία εἶχεν
 ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἥτιον ἐρυμνά. Καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐξεῖλον πρὸς
 τὰ χωρία προσβάλλειν, καὶ τὴν στρατιάν ὀνηθῆναι τι· καὶ
 τὰ ξένια, ἃ ἤκε παρὰ τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν, οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ'
 ἐπιμεῖναι κελεύσαντες, ἕστε βουλευσάντο, ἐθύοντο. Καὶ 25
 πολλὰ καταθυσάντων, τέλος ἀπεδείξαντο οἱ μάντιες πάντες
 γνώμην, ὅτι σὺδαμῇ προσίεντο οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πόλεμον. Ἐν-
 τεῦθεν δὴ τὰ ξένια ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὥς διὰ φιλίας πορευόμενοι

δύο ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο εἰς Κοτύωρα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἀποίκους, οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῇ Τιβαρητῶν χώρῃ.

Μέχρις ἐνταῦθα ἐπέzeugεν ἡ στρατιά. Πλήθος τῆς καταβάσεως τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης ἄχρι εἰς 5 Κοτύωρα, σταθμοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι δύο, παρασάγγαι ἑξακόσιοι εἴκοσι, στάδιοι μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι· χρόνου πλήθος, ὅκτω μῆνες. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα καὶ πέντε. Ἐν δὲ ταύταις πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσαν, καὶ πομπὰς ἐποίησαν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστος τῶν 10 Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἄγῳνας γυμνικούς. Τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐλάμβανον, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν χωρίων τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν· οὐ γὰρ παρῆχον ἀγοράν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἐδέχοντο.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἔρχονται ἐκ Σινώπης πρέσβεις, φοβούμενοι 15 περὶ τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως (ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνων, καὶ φόρους ἐκείνοις ἔφερον), καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἤκουον θρουμένην· καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔλεγον· προηγόρει δὲ Ἑκατάνυμος, δεινὸς νομιζόμενος εἶναι λέγειν·
 “Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ τῶν Σινωπέων 20 πόλις, ἐπαινεσόντάς τε ὑμᾶς, ὅτι νικᾶτε Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ συνησθησομένους, ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν, πραγμάτων σευσσμένοι πάρεστε. Ἀξιοῦμεν δέ, Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοί, ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὄντων Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν μὲν τι πάσχειν, κακὸν δὲ μηδέν· οὐδὲ 25 γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπῆρξαμεν κακῶς ποιοῦντες. Κοτυωρῖται δὲ οὗτοι εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμέτεροι ἄποικοι· καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτην παραδεδώκαμεν, βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενοι· διὸ καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν φέρουσιν οὗτοι τεταγμένοι, καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι ὡσαύτως· ὥςθ' ὅτι ἂν 30 τοιούτους κακὸν ποιήσητε, ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις νομίζει πάσχειν. Νῦν δὲ ἀκούομεν, ὑμᾶς εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ παρεληλυθότας, ἐνίοις σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων [βίᾳ] λαμβάνειν, ὧν ἂν δέησθε, οὐ πείθοντας. Ταῦτ' οὖν

οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσετε, ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν, καὶ Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγένας, καὶ ἄλλον, ὄντινα ἂν δυνάμεθα, φίλον ποιῆσθαι."

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶπεν· "Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἀῖθρες Σινωπεῖς, ἤκομεν ἀγαπῶντες, 5 ὅτι τὰ σώματα διεσώσάμεθα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα· οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἦν δυνατόν, ἅμα τι χρήματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις μάχεσθαι. Καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν, ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μὲν, παρῆχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν, ὠνούμενοι ἔχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς, 10 καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντετιμῶμεν αὐτούς· καὶ μὴ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολέμιους αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἡγοῶντο, κακὸν ἐποιοῦμεν, ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα. Ἐρωτᾷτε δὲ αὐτούς, ὅπολων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεισι γὰρ ἐνθάδε, οὓς ἡμῖν ἡγεμό- 15 νας διὰ φίλιαν ἢ πόλιν συνέπεμψεν. Ὅποι δ' ἂν ἐλθούτες ἀγοράν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἂν τε εἰς βύρβαρον γῆν, ἂν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα, οὐχ ὕβρει ἄλλ' ἀνάγκῃ λυμβάνομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ Ταόχους, καίπερ βασιλείας οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας, ὅμως καὶ μάλα φοβερούς ὄντας 20 πολέμιους ἐκτησάμεθα, διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν οὐ παρῆχον. Μάκρωνας δὲ, καίπερ βαρβάρους ὄντας, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν, οἷαν ἐδύναντο, παρῆχον, φίλους τε ἐνομιζόμεν εἶναι, καὶ βίᾳ οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων. Κοτυωρίτας δέ, οὓς ὑμετέρους φατέ εἶναι, εἴ τι 25 αὐτῶν εἰλήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἴτιοι εἰσὶν· οὐ γὰρ ὥς φίλοι προσεφέροντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας, οὔτ' εἰσω ἐδέχοντο, οὔτ' ἔξω ἀγοράν ἔπεμπον· ἥτινῶν δὲ τὸν παρ' ὧν ἀρμυστήν τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ λέγεις, βίᾳ παρελθόντας σκηνοῦν, ἡμεῖς ἤξιούμεν τοὺς 30 κάμνοντας εἰς τὰς στέγας διέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέφγον τὰς πύλας, ἢ ἡμᾶς ἐδέχeto αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ταῦτη εἰσελθόντες, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον ἐποιήσαμεν· σκηνοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῖς

στάγαις οἱ κέκνοντες, τὰ δαυτῶν θάπανῶντες· καὶ τὰς πύ-
 λας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἄρμωσθῇ ὥσιν οἱ
 κέκνοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἢ κορίσασθαι, ὅταν βουλώ-
 μεθα. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὡς ἑρᾶτε, σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ
 * τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι, ἂν μὲν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντεποιεῖν· ἂν
 δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι. Ἄ δὲ ὑπέλησας, ὡς, ἣν ὑμῶν δοκῇ,
 Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγῶνας συμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς·
 ἡμῖς δέ, ἣν μὲν ἀνάγκη ἢ, πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις·
 ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν ἐπολεμήσαμεν· ἂν
 10 δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ τὸν Παφλαγῶνα ποισύμεθα φίλον. Ἀκού-
 ομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, καὶ χρο-
 ρίων τῶν ἐπιθαλαττίων. Πειρασόμεθα οὖν, συμπράττον-
 τες αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖ, φίλοι γίνεσθαι."

Ἐκ τούτου μάλα μὲν δῆλοι ἦσαν οἱ συμπρέσβεις τῷ Ἑκα-
 15 τώνυμῳ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημίοις. Περσελιδὼν δ' αὐ-
 τῶν ἄλλος, εἶπεν, "ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον ποιησόμενοι ἤκοισιν, ἀλλ'
 ἐπιδίδοντες, ὅτι φίλοι εἰσὶ. Καὶ ξενίοις, ἣν μὲν ἔλθῃτε πρὸς
 τήν. Σινωπέων πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δεξιόμεθα· νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐνθάδε
 κελεύσομεν διδόναι, ἃ δύνανται· ὁρᾶμεν γὰρ πάντες ἀληθῆ
 20 ὄντα, ἃ λέγετε." Ἐκ τούτου ξενία τε ἐπιμπον οἱ Κοτύωρε-
 ται, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξένιζον τοὺς τῶν Σινω-
 πέων πρέσβεις· καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλὰ τε καὶ ἐπιστήδεις
 διελίσγοντο, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας ἐπον-
 θάνοντο, καὶ ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἐδέοντο.

Κεφάλαιον 5'.

25 Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Τῇ
 δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συνέλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ
 ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας, παρακαλέσαντας
 τοὺς Σινωπέας, βουλευέσθαι. ἔλτε γὰρ περὶ δέοι πορευέ-

εσθαι, χρησιμοι ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ Σινωπεῖς ἡχοῦμενοι· ἔμπειροι γὰρ ἦσαν τῆς Παφλαγονίας· εἴτε κατὰ Θάλατταν, προσθεῖν ἐδόκει Σινωπέων· μόνοι γὰρ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πλοῖα παρασχεῖν ἀρκοῦντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. Καλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις συνεβουλευόντο, καὶ ἡξίου, Ἕλληνας ὄν- 5 τας Ἕλλησι τούτῳ πρῶτον καλῶς δέχεσθαι, τῷ εὐνους τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευεῖν.

Ἀναστάς δὲ Ἑκατάννυμος, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογήσατο, περὶ οὗ εἶπεν, ὡς τὸν Παφλαγόνα φίλον ποιήσουσι, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἕλλησι πολεμησόντων σφῶν εἴποι, ἀλλ' ὅτι, ἔξόν τοις βαρβάροις φίλους εἶναι, τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰρήσονται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβουλευεῖν ἐκίλευσεν, ἐπευξάμενος ὥδε εἶπεν· “Εἰ μὲν συμβουλεύοιμι, ἃ βέλτιστά μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, πολλὰ μοι κἀγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ μή, τάναντία· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐμεῖ συμβουλὴ λεγομένη εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι παρεῖναι· νῦν γὰρ δὴ, 15 ἂν μὲν εὖ συμβουλευσας φανῶ, πολλοὶ ἔσσεσθε οἱ ἐπαινουν- τές με· ἂν δὲ κακῶς, πολλοὶ ἔσσεσθε οἱ καταρώμενοι. Πράγματα μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ πλείω ἔσομεν, εἰ ἂν κατὰ Θάλατταν κομίζεσθε· ἡμᾶς γὰρ δεήσει τὰ πλοῖα πορρίζειν· ἦν δὲ κατὰ γῆς στελλήσεσθε, ὑμᾶς δεήσει τοὺς μαχομένους εἶ- 20 ναι. Ὅμως δὲ λεκτέα, ἃ γινώσκω· ἔμπειρος γὰρ εἰμι καὶ τῆς χώρας τῶν Παφλαγόνων, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως· ἔχει γὰρ ἡ χώρα ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ πεδία κάλλιστα καὶ ὄρη ὑψηλότατα. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθύς, ἥ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνάγκη ποιέ- σθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλη, ἥ ἢ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ ὄρους τῆς 25 ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερά ἐστιν ὑψηλά· ἃ κρατεῖν κατέχοντες καὶ πάντῃ ὀλίγοι δύναιτ' ἂν· τούτων δὲ κατεχομένων, οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες ἀνθρώποι δύναιτο διελθεῖν. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δεί- ξαιμι ἂν, εἴ μοι τινα βούλοισθε συμπέμψαι. Ἐπειτα δὲ οἶδα καὶ πεδία ὄντα καὶ ἱππεῖαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νο- 30 μίζουσι κρείττω εἶναι ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλείως ἱππείας. Καὶ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ παρεγένοντο βασιλεῖ καλοῦντι· ἀλλὰ [καὶ] μεῖζον φρονεῖ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν. Ἦν δὲ καὶ δυνηθῆτε τά τε

ὄρη κλέψαι, ἣ φθάσαι λαβόντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆτε
 μαχόμενοι τοὺς τε ἱππέας τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας πλείον
 ἢ δώδεκα, ἧξετε ἐπὶ ποταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Θερμαῖοντα,
 εὐρος τριῶν πλέθρων, ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν, ἄλλως
 5 τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ
 ὀπισθεν ἱππομένων· δεύτερον δ' Ἴριν, τρίπλεθρον ὡς αὐτως·
 τρίτον δ' Ἄλυν, οὐ μείον δυοῖν σταδίων, ὅν οὐκ ἂν δύνα-
 σθε ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς ἔσται ὁ παρέχων;
 ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος ἄβατος· ἐφ' ὃν ἔλθοιτε ἂν, εἰ
 10 τὸν Ἄλυν τοῦτον διαβαίητε. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπὴν ὑμῖν
 εἶναι νομίζω τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. Ἄν
 δὲ πλείητε, ἔστιν ἐνθὲνδε μὲν εἰς Σινώπην παρακλεῦσαι, ἐκ
 Σινώπης δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἐξ Ἡρακλείας δὲ οὔτε πεζῇ,
 οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα ἔστιν
 15 ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεξεν, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευσον, φίλος ἔνεκα τῆς
 Κορύλλας λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόξενος αὐτῷ· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς
 δῶρα ληφόμενον διὰ τὴν συμβουλὴν ταύτην· οἱ δ' ὑπώ-
 πτευσον καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα λέγειν, ὡς μὴ πεζῇ ἰόντες τὴν Σι-
 20 νωπίων χώραν κακὸν τι ἐργάζοιντο. Οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες
 ἐψηφίσαντο, κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν πορείαν ποιῆσθαι. Μετὰ
 ταῦτα Ξενοφὼν εἶπεν· “Ὡ Σινωπεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἤρην-
 ται πορείαν, ἣν ὑμεῖς συμβουλευέτε· οὕτω δ' ἔχει· εἰ μὲν
 μέλλει πλοῖα ἔσεσθαι ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῶ, ὡς ἔνα μὴ καταπύ-
 25 πσεσθαι ἐνθάδε, ἡμεῖς δὲ πλείοιμεν ἂν· εἰ δὲ μέλλοιμεν οἱ
 μὲν καταλείψεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλεύσεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίημεν
 εἰς τὰ πλοῖα. Γινώσκουμεν γάρ, ὅτι, ὅπου μὲν ἂν κρατῶ-
 μεν, δυναίμεθ' ἂν καὶ σώζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν· εἰ
 δὲ πού ἤττους τῶν πολεμίων ληφθῇσόμεθα, εὐδην δὲ, ὅτι
 30 ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρᾳ ἐσόμεθα.” Ἀκούσαντες τοῦτο οἱ
 πρίσβεις, πέμπουν ἐκέλευον πρίσβεις. Καὶ πέμπουσι Καλ-
 λίμαχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ Ἀρίστωνα Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Σαμολᾶν
 Ἀχαιόν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχοντο.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Ξενοφῶντι, ὁρῶντι μὲν πολλοὺς
 ἐπλίτας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁρῶντι δὲ πολλοὺς πελταστὰς, πολ-
 λούς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας, καὶ ἱππίας δέ, καὶ
 μάλα ἤδη διὰ τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανούς, ὄντας δ' ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ἔν-
 θα οὐκ ἂν ἂν ὀλίγων χρημάτων τοσαύτη δύναμις παρε- 6
 σκευάσθῃ, καλὸν αὐτῷ ἰδοῦκε εἶναι καὶ χώραν καὶ δύνα-
 μιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσκτήσασθαι, πόλιν κατοικίσαντας. Καὶ
 γείεσθαι ἂν ἰδοῦκε αὐτῷ μεγάλη, καταλογιζομένη τό τε
 αὐτῶν πληθός, καὶ τοὺς περιοικεῦντας τὸν Πόντον. Καὶ
 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο, πρὶν τινι εἰπεῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, 10
 Σιλανὸν παρακαλέσας, τὸν Κύρου μάντιν γενόμενον, τὸν
 Ἀμβρακιώτην. Ὁ δὲ Σιλανός, δεδιὼς μὴ γένοιτο ταῦτα,
 καὶ καταμείνειε που ἡ στρατιὰ, ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα
 λόγον, οἷ Ξενοφῶν βούλεται καταμεῖναι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ
 πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ ἱαντῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσα- 16
 σθαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σιλανὸς ἐβούλετο ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὗς γὰρ παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε τριςχίλους
 θαραϊκούς, ὅτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἡγήθευσε θυόμενος Κύρου,
 διαισεώκει. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, τοῖς μὲν ἰδό-
 κει βέλτιστον εἶναι καταμεῖναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ. Τιμα- 20
 σίων δὲ ὁ Λαρδανεύς, καὶ Θώραξ ὁ Βοιωτίας, πρὸς ἐμπό-
 ρους τιὰς παρόντας τῶν Ἡρακλειωτῶν καὶ Σινωπέων λίγουσιν,
 “ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἐκποριοῦσι τῇ στρατιᾷ μισθόν, ὥστε ἔχειν τὰ ἐπι-
 τήδεια ἐκπλόντας, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μείναι τοσαύτη δύναμις ἐν
 τῷ Πόντῳ· βουλευέται γὰρ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ, 26
 ἐπειδὴν ἔλθῃ τὰ πλοῖα, τότε” εἰπεῖν ἐξαίφνης τῇ στρατιᾷ. “ Ἄν-
 δρες, γυν μὲν ὁρῶμεν ἡμᾶς ἀπόρους ὄντας, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπό-
 πλῳ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ οἰκαδε ἀπελθόντας ὄνησαι τε
 τοὺς οἴκοι. Εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας περὶ τὸν
 Πόντον οἰκουμένης ἐκλεξάμενοι, ὅπη ἂν βούλησθε, κατα- 30
 σχεῖν, καὶ τὸν μὲν θέλοντα, ἀπιέναι οἰκαδε, τὸν δὲ ἐθέλοντα,
 μένειν αὐτοῦ, πλοῖα δὲ ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ὥστε, ὅπη ἂν βούλη-
 σθε, ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐπιπέσοιτε.”

Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀπήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι·
 συνέπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς Τιμασίων ὁ Λαρδανεύς Ἐρύμαχόν τε
 τὸν Λαρδανέα, καὶ Θώρακα τὸν Βοιώτιον, τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα
 ἐροῦντας. Σινωπεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες
 5 πέμπουσι πρὸς Τιμασίωνα, καὶ κελεύουσι προστατεῦσαι,
 λαβόντα χρήματα, ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἡ στρατιά. Ὁ δέ, ἄσμε-
 νος ἀκούσας, ἐν συλλόγῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων, λέγει τάδε·
 “Οὐ δεῖ προσέχειν μονῇ, ὧς ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδὲν
 περὶ πλείωνος ποιῆσθαι. Ἀκούω δὲ τινος θύεσθαι ἐπὶ
 10 τούτῳ, οὐδ' ὑμῖν λέγοντας. Ἐπισχνοῦμαι δὲ ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἐκ-
 πλέητε, ἀπὸ νομηνίας μισθοφορὰν παρέξειν ὑμῖν Κυζικη-
 νὸν ἐκάστῳ τοῦ μηνός· καὶ ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα, ἐν-
 θεν καὶ εἰμὶ φυγὰς· καὶ ὑπάρξει ὑμῖν ἡ ἐμὴ πόλις· ἐκόν-
 τες γάρ με δέξονται. Ἡγήσομαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγώ, ἔνθεν πολλὰ
 15 χρήματα λήψεσθε. Ἐμπειρος δὲ εἰμι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς
 Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς Τρωάδος καὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου ἀρχῆς πά-
 σης· τῆς μὲν, διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι, τῆς δέ, διὰ τὸ συνεστρα-
 τεῦσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν Κλεάρχῳ τε καὶ Δερκυλλίδῃ.”
 Ἀναστάς δ' εὐθὺς Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος, ὃς αἰεὶ περὶ στρα-
 20 τηγίας Ξενοφῶντι ἐμάχετο, ἔφη, εἰ ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου,
 ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς Χερρόνησον, χώραν καλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα,
 ὥστε, τῷ βουλομένῳ, ἐνοικεῖν, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ, ἀπιέναι
 οἴκαδ· γελοῖον δ' εἶναι, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὔσης χώρας πολλῆς
 καὶ ἀφθόνου, ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων μαστεύειν. “Ἔστε δ' ἄν,”
 25 ἔφη, “ἐκεῖ γένησθε, καὶ γὰρ, καθάπερ Τιμασίων, ὑπισχνοῦμα-
 ὑμῖν τὴν μισθοφορὰν.” Ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν, εἰδώς, ἃ Τιμα-
 σίωνα οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Σινωπεῖς ἐπαγγέλοιτο, ὥστε
 ἐκπλεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τούτῳ εἰσὶν. Ἀναστάς δὲ Φι-
 λῆσιος καὶ Λύκων, οἱ Ἀχαιοί, ἔλεγον, ὥς δεινὸν εἶη, ἰδίᾳ
 30 μὲν Ξενοφῶντα πείθειν τε καταμένειν, καὶ θύεσθαι ὑπὲρ
 τῆς μονῆς, μὴ κοινοῦμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ· εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινὸν μὴ-
 δὲν ἀγορεύειν περὶ τούτων· ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη ὁ Ξενοφῶν
 ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν τάδε·

“Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, θύομαι μὲν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ὅποσα δύνα-
 μαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔμμεντοῦ, ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω
 καὶ λέγων καὶ νοῶν καὶ πράττων, ὅποια μέλλει ὑμῖν τε κάλ-
 λιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐμοί. Καὶ νῦν ἐθυσμένην περὶ
 αὐτοῦ τούτου, εἰ ἄμεινον εἴη ἄρχεσθαι λέγειν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ
 5 πράττειν περὶ τούτων, ἢ παντάπασιν μὴδ’ ἄπεισθαι τοῦ
 πράγματος. Σιλανὸς δέ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ μὲν
 μέγιστον, τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι· ἦδαι γὰρ καὶ ἐμὶ οὐκ ἄπειρον
 ὄντα, διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παρῆναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς· ἔλεξε δέ, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱε-
 ροῖς φαίνατο τις δόλος καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί, ὡς ἄρα γιγνώσκων, 10
 ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπεβούλετο διαβαλλεῖν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Ἐξήνεγκε
 γὰρ τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἐγὼ πράττειν ταῦτα διανοοίμην ἤδη, οὐ
 πείσας ὑμᾶς. Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ἀποροῦντας ὑμᾶς εἴρωμαι,
 τοῦτ’ ἂν ἐσκόπουν, ἀφ’ οὗ ἂν γένοιτο, ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς
 πόλιν, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον, ἀποπλεῖν ἤδη, τὸν δὲ μὴ βου- 15
 λόμενον, ἐπαί κτήσασθαι ἱκανά, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκείους
 ὠφελῆσαι τι. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πέμποντας
 Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Σινωπεῖς, ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ μισθὸν ὑπὲρ
 σχονυμένους ὑμῖν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ νομηνίας, καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ
 εἶναι, σωζομένους, ἔνθα βουλόμεθα, μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας 20
 λαμβάνειν· καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀναπαύομαι ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας,
 καὶ ὅποσοι πρὸς με προσήεσαν, λέγοντες, ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα
 πράττειν, ἀναπαύσασθαι φημι χρῆναι. Οὕτω γὰρ γιγνώ-
 σκω· ὁμοῦ μὲν ὄντες πολλοί, ὥσπερ νυνί, δοκεῖτε ἂν μοι
 καὶ ἔντιμοι εἶναι, καὶ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἐν γὰρ τῇ κρατεῖν 25
 ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν τὰ τῶν ἡτιόνων· διασπασθέντες δέ,
 καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως, οὗτ’ ἂν τροφὴν δύ-
 ναισθε λαμβάνειν, οὕτε χαίροντες ἂν ἀπαλλάξαίτε. Δοκεῖ
 οὖν μοι, ἅπερ ὑμῖν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καὶ ἂν
 τις μείνῃ, ἢ ἀπολιπὼν τινα ληφθῇ, πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι 30
 πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα. Καὶ
 ὅτε δοκεῖ,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα.” Ἀνέειπεν
 ἅπαντες.

Ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ἐβύα, καὶ ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ὥς δίκαιον εἶη ἀπίνειν τὸν βουλόμενον. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλ' ἠπειλουν αὐτῷ, εἰ λήψονται ἀποδιδράσκοντα, ὅτι τὴν δίκην ἐπιθήσοιεν. Ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἰπρακλεῶται, ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν διδογμένον εἶη, καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐπεψηφικῶς εἶη, τὰ μὲν πλοῖα πέμπουσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα, ἃ ὑπέυχοντο Τιμασίῳ καὶ Θάωρακι, ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν τῆς μισθοφορᾶς. Ἐνταῦθα ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐθεδίσαν τὴν στρατιάν, οἱ τὴν μισθοφορὰν ὑπεσχημένοι. Παραλαβόντες οὖν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, οἷς ἀνεκεκόλωντο, ἃ πρόσθεν ἔπραττον, (ἅπαντες δ' ἦσαν, πλην Νέωνος τοῦ Ἀσιναιίου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει· Χειρίσοφος δὲ οὐπω παρῆν) ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι μεταμέλῳ αὐτοῖς, καὶ δοκίῃ κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν, ἐπεὶ πλοῖα [ἐκεῖ] ἐστι, καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασσιανῶν χώραν. Αἰήτου δ' υἱοῦς ἐτύγχανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, "ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποι εἰς τὴν στρατιάν· ἡμεῖς δὲ συλλέξαντες," ἔφη, "εἰ βούλεσθε, λέγετε." Ἐνταῦθα ἀποθείκνυται Τιμασίῳ ὁ Λαρδανεύς γνώμην, μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτον λοχαγούς πρῶτους πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. Καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν.

Κεφάλαιον ζ'.

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀνεπύθοντο ταῦτα πραττόμενα. Καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει, ὥς Ξενοφῶν, ἀναπεπεικῶς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, διανοεῖται ἄγειν ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον· καὶ σύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ κύκλοι συνίσταντο· καὶ μάλα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, μὴ ποιήσειαν, οἷα καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κόλχων κήρυκας ἐποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους· ὅσοι γὰρ μὴ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατέφυγον, κατελεύσθησαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθε

νετο ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα συναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἄγοράν, καὶ μὴ εἶσαι συλλεγῆναι αὐτομάτους· καὶ ἐπέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα συλλέξαι ἄγοράν. Οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἤκουσαν, συνέδραμον καὶ μάλα ἐτοίμως. Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν σὺ κατηγόρει, ὅτι ἤλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, λέγει δὲ ὧδε·

“Ἀκούω τινὰ διαβάλλειν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἐμέ, ὡς ἐγὼ ἄρα ἐξαπατήσας ὑμᾶς μέλλω ἄγειν εἰς Φᾶσιν. Ἀκούσατε οὖν μου, πρὸς θεῶν· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι ἀδικῶν, οὐ χρεὶ με ἐνθίνδε ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν ἂν δῶ [τὴν] δίκην· ἂν 10 δ' ὑμῖν φαίνωνται ἀδικοῦντες οἱ ἐμέ διαβάλλοντες, οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρῆσθε, ὥσπερ ἄξιον. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπίστασθε δήπου, ὁπόθεν ὁ ἥλιος ἀνίσχει, καὶ ὅποι δύεται· καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν τις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλῃ ἵεναι, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δεῖ πορεύεσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ τις βούληται εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, τοῦμπαλιν 15 πρὸς ἥω. Ἔστιν οὖν, ὅστις τοῦτο δύναιτ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσαι, ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ἐνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, δύεται δ' ἐνταῦθα· ἐνθεν δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι ὁ Βορέας μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρει, Νότος δὲ εἴσω εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ λέγετε, ὅταν 20 ὁ Βορρᾶς πνέῃ, ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ εἰσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Τοῦτο οὖν ἔστιν ὅπως τις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσαι, ὥστ' ἐμβαίνειν, ὁπόταν Νότος πνέῃ; Ἀλλὰ γὰρ [ὑμᾶς], ὁπόταν γαλήνῃ ἦ, ἐμβιβῶ. Οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ πλοίῳ πλεουσοῦμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τουλάχιστον ἐν ἑκατόν. Πῶς ἂν οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην 25 σὺν ἔμοι πλεῖν, μὴ βουλομένους, ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἄγοιμι; Ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ καταγοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἦκειν εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χῶραν· γνῶσεσθε δήπου, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐστί· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκῶς εἰς [ὑμᾶς], ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατη- 30 μένοι ἐγγὺς μυρίων, ἔχοντες ὅπλα. Πῶς ἂν οὖν εἰς ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίῃ δίκην, ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑμῶν βουλεσόμενος; Ἀλλ' οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἡλιθίων,

καὶ ἐμοὶ φθονούντων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμῶμαι. Καίτοι
οὐδ' ἀδικαίως γ' ἂν μοι φθονοῖεν. Τίνα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ κω-
λύω ἢ λέγειν, εἴ τις τι θύναται ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ μάχεσθαι,
εἴ τις ἐθέλει, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ἐργηγοῦναι περὶ
5 τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἐπιμελούμενον; Τί γάρ; ἄρχοντας
αἰρουμένων ὑμῶν, ἐγὼ τίνοι ἐμποδῶν εἰμι; Παρήμι, ἀρ-
χέτω· μόνον ἀγαθὸν τι ποιῶν ὑμᾶς φαίνεται. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ
ἐμοὶ μὲν ἄρκει περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰρημένα· εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἢ
αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἴεται ταῦτα, ἢ ἄλλον ἐξαπατήσαι
10 ταῦτα, λέγων διδασκέτω. Ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἕλις ἔχητε, μὴ
ἀπείλθῃτε, πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃτε, οἷον ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἄρ-
χόμενον πρᾶγμα· ὃ εἰ ἔπεισι, καὶ ἔσται, οἷον ὑποδείκνυσιν,
ὥρα ἡμῖν βουλευέσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, μὴ κάκιστοί τε καὶ
αἰσχιστοὶ ἄνδρες φανῶμεν καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώ-
15 πων καὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίων, καὶ καταφρονηθῶμεν." Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐθαύμασάν τε, ὃ τι εἶη,
καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευον. Ἐκ τούτου ἄρχεται πάλιν· "Ἐπίστα-
σθί που, ὅτι χωρία ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς φίλια
τοῖς Κερασσοντιοῖς, ὅθεν κατιόντες τιρὲς καὶ ἱερεῖα ἐπώλουν
20 ἡμῖν, καὶ ἄλλα, ὧν εἶχον. Λοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ ὑμῶν τι-
νες, εἰς τὸ ἐγγυτάτω χωρίον τούτων ἐλθόντες, ἀγοράσαντες
τι, πάλιν ἐλθεῖν. Τούτο καταμαθὼν Κλεάρετος ὁ λοχαγὸς
ὅτι καὶ μικρὸν εἶη καὶ ἀφύλακτον, διὰ τὸ φίλιον νομίζειν
εἶναι, ἔρχεται ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς χυκτός, ὥς πορθήσων, οὐθενὶ
25 ἡμῶν εἰπών. Διενεγέητο δέ, εἰ λάβοι τότε τὸ χωρίον, εἰς
μὲν τὸ στράτευμα μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν, ἐμβὰς δ' εἰς τὸ πλεῖον, ἐν
ᾧ ἐτύγγανον οἱ σύσκηνοι αὐτοῦ παραπλέοντες, καὶ ἐνθήμε-
νος, εἴ τι λάβοι, ἀποπλέων οἴχεσθαι ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου. Καὶ
ταῦτα συνωμολόγησαν αὐτῶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηνοι, ὥς
30 ἐγὼ νῦν αἰσθάνομαι. Παρακαλέσας οὖν, ὁπόσους ἐπειθεν,
ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. Πορευόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν φθάνει ἡμέ-
ρα γενομένη, καὶ συστάντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι, ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν
τόπων βάλλοντες καὶ παίοντες, τὸν τε Κλεάρητον ἀποκτε-

ρουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγχροῦς· οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ εἰς Κερα-
 σοῦντα αὐτῶν ἀποχωροῦσι. Ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἥ
 ἡμῖς δεῦρο ἐξωρμώμεν περὶ. Τῶν δὲ παραπλεόντων ἔτι
 τινὲς ἦσαν ἐν Κερασούντι, οὐπω ἀνηγμένοι. Μετὰ τοῦτο,
 ὥς οἱ Κερασοῦντιοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀφικνοῦνται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χω-
 ρίου τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν χειρατέρων, πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμίτε-
 ρον χρήζοντες ἐλθῆν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐ κατέλαβον, πρὸς τοὺς
 Κερασουντίους ἔλεγον, ὅτι θαυμάζοιεν, τί ἡμῖν δοῦξεν ἐλ-
 θεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν, ἔφασαν,
 ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἥδεσθαι τε αὐ- 10
 τοὺς καὶ μέλλειν πλεῖν δεῦρο, ὥς ἡμῖν λέξαι τὰ γινόμενα,
 καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς κτελεῖν αὐτοὺς θάπτειν λαβόντας τοὺς
 τούτου θεομένους. Τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων τινὲς Ἕλληνες
 ἔτυχον ἔτι ὄντες ἐν Κερασούντι· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς βαρ-
 βάρους, ὅποι ἴοιεν, αὐτοὶ τε ἐτόλμησαν βάλλειν τοῖς λίθοις, 15
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεκκελεύοντο. Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀποθνή-
 σκουσι, τρεῖς ὄντες οἱ πρέσβεις, καταλευσθέντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ Κερασούντιοι, καὶ
 λέγουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες
 ἠχθόμεθά τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις, καὶ ἐβουλευόμεθα σὺν 20
 τοῖς Κερασουντίοις, πῶς ἂν ταφείησαν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 νεκροί. Συγκεισθέντες δ' ἐξωθεν τῶν ὀπλων, ἐξαίφνης
 ἀκούομεν θορύβου πολλοῦ, Ἡαῖτε, παῖτε, βάλλε, βάλλε.
 Καὶ τάχα δὴ ὀρῶμεν πολλοὺς πρὸςθέοντας, λίθους [δ'] ἔχον-
 τας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀναιρουμένους. Καὶ οἱ μὲν 25
 Κερασούντιοι, ὥς ἂν καὶ ἰωρακότες τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγ-
 μα, δέξαντες ἀποχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα. Ἦσαν δὲ, νῆ
 Δία, οἱ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔδρισαν. Ἐγὼγε μὲν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐ-
 τοὺς, καὶ ἠρώτων, ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα. Τῶν δὲ ἦσαν μὲν,
 οἱ οὐδὲν ᾔδισαν, ὅμως δὲ λίθους εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. 30
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ [καὶ] εἰδοὶ τινὶ ἐνέτυχον, λέγει μοι, ὅτι οἱ ἀγορα-
 νόμοι δεινότατα ποιοῦσι τὸ σφάτευμα. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τις
 ὄρεᾷ τὸν ἀγορανόμον Ζήλαρχον πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἀποχω-

ροῦντα καὶ ἀνέκραγεν· οἱ δ', ὡς ἤκουσαν, ὥσπερ ἡ συνὸς
 ἀγρίου ἢ ἐλάφου φανέντος, ἵενται ἐπ' αὐτόν. Οἱ δ' αὖ
 Κερασούντιοι, ὡς εἶδον ὀρμῶντας καθ' ἑαυτούς, νομίσαντες
 ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἕσθαι, φεύγουσι δρόμῳ, καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν
 5 θάλατταν. Συννείεπεςον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τινες, καὶ
 ἐπνίγετο, ὅστις μὴ ἐτύγγανεν ἐπιστάμενος νεῖν. Καὶ τούτους
 τί δοκεῖτε; ἡδίκουν μὲν οὐδέν, ἔδωσαν δέ, μὴ λύσσα τις
 ὥσπερ κυρὴν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτώκοι. Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα τοιαῦτα
 ἔσται, θεάσασθε, οἷα ἡ κατάστασις ἡμῖν ἔσται τῆς στρα-
 10 τιᾶς. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ πάντες οὐκ ἔσεσθε κύριοι οὔτ' ἀνελέ-
 σθαι πόλεμον, ᾧ ἂν βούλησθε, οὔτε καταλύσαι· ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ
 βουλόμενος ἄξει στρατεύμα, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ. Καὶ τινες
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴωσι πρέσβεις, ἡ εἰρήνης δεόμενοι ἢ ἄλλου τίνος,
 κατακτείναντες τούτους οἱ βουλόμενοι, ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν
 15 λόγων μὴ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰόντων. Ἐπειτα δέ, οὓς
 μὲν ἂν ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἔλησθε ἄρχοντας, ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ χώρᾳ
 ἔσονται· ὅστις δ' ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἔληται στρατηγόν, καὶ ἐθέλῃ
 λέγειν, 'Βάλλε, βάλλε,' οὗτος ἔσται ἱκανὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα κα-
 τακανεῖν καὶ ἰδιώτην, ὃν ἂν ὑμῶν ἐθέλῃ, ἄκριτον, ἣν ὥσιν
 20 οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο. Οἷα δ' ὑμῖν
 καὶ διαπεπράχασιν οἱ αὐθαίρετοι οὗτοι στρατηγοί, σκέψα-
 σθε. Ζήλαρχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄβρογανόμος, εἰ μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς,
 οἴχεται ἀποπλέων, οὐ δοὺς ὑμῖν δίκην· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖ,
 φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος, δεισας, μὴ ἀδίκως ἄκριτος
 25 ἀποθάνῃ. Οἱ δὲ καταλεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις διεπράξαν-
 το, ὑμῖν μόνοις μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Κερασούντα μὴ ἀσφα-
 λές εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ σὺν ἰσχυρῷ, ἀφικνεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ νεκρούς,
 οὓς πρόσθεν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατακάνοντες ἐκέλευον θάπτειν,
 τούτους διεπράξαντο μηδὲ σὺν κηρυκίῳ ἔτι ἀσφαλές εἶναι
 30 ἀνελέσθαι. Τίς γὰρ ἐθέλῃσει κήρυξ ἵεναι, κήρυκας ἀπε-
 κτονῶς; Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς Κερασουντίων θάψαι αὐτοὺς ἐδεήθη-
 μεν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἔχει ταῦτα, δοξάτω ὑμῖν· ἴνα, ὡς τοι-
 ούτων ἐσομένων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιήσῃ τις, καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ

ὑπερδίδισα πειράται ἔχων σκηνοῦν. Ἐὰ μέντοι δοκεῖ ὑμῖν θηρίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνθρώπων, εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα, σκοπεῖτε παῦλάν τιν' αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς Διός, πῶς ἡ θεοῖς θύσομεν ἡδέως, ποιοῦντες ἔργα ἀσεβῆ, ἣ τοῖς πολέμοις πῶς μαχοῦμεθα, ἣν ἀλλήλους κατακαίνωμεν; Πόλις δὲ φίλλα τίς ἡμᾶς δεῖται, ἥτις ἂν ὄρῃ τοσαντήν ἀνομίαν ἐν ἡμῖν; Ἀγορὰν δὲ τίς ἄξει θαρβύων, ἣν περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες φαινόμεθα; Οὐ δὲ δὴ πάντων οἰόμεθα τεύξεσθαι ἐπαίνου, τίς ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιούτους ὄντας ἐπαινέσειεν; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι πονηροὺς ἂν φαίμεν ἵσθαι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας.'

Ἐκ τούτου ἀνιστάμενοι πάντες ἔλεγον, τοὺς μὲν τούτων ἄρξαντας δοῦναι δίκην, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι ἀνομίας ἄρξαι· εἰάν τις ἄρξῃ, ἄγεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς εἰς δίκας πάντας καταστήσαι· εἶναι δὲ δίκας, 15 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τις ἡδέικητο, ἐξ οὗ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε· δικαστὰς δὲ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐποίησαντο. Παραινοῦντος δὲ Ξενοφῶντος, καὶ τῶν μάντιων συμβουλευόντων, ἔδοξε καὶ καθῆραι τὸ στρατεύμα. Καὶ ἐγένετο καθαρός.

Κεφάλαιον η΄.

Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς δίκην ὑποσχέσθαι τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου. Καὶ διδόντες, Φιλήσιος μὲν ὧφλε καὶ Ξανθικλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν γανλικῶν χρημάτων τὸ μείωμα, εἴκοσι μνᾶς. Σοφαίνετος δέ, ὅτι ἄρχων αἰρεθείς κατημέλει, δέκα μνᾶς. Ξενοφῶντος δὲ κατηγόρησάν τινες, φάσκοντες παῖεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς ὑβρίζοντος τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐποιοῦντο. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀναστὰς ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πρῶτον, πρῶτον λέξαντα, ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη. Ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται· “Ὅπου καὶ τῷ ῥίγῃ ἀπωλύμεθα, καὶ

χιῶν πλείστη ἦν." Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· "Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ χειμῶνός
 γε ὄντος, οἴου λέγεις, σίτου δὲ ἐπιλελοιπότος, οἴνου δὲ μηδ'
 ὑσφραίνεσθαι παρόντος, ὑπὸ δὲ πόνων πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόν-
 των, πολεμίων δὲ ἐπομένων, εἰ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ὕβριζον,
 5 ὁμολογῶ καὶ τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστότερος εἶναι· οἷς φασὶν ὑπὸ
 τῆς ἵβριτος κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. Ὅμως δὲ καὶ λέξον,"
 ἔφη, "ἐκ τίνος ἐπλήγης. Πότερον ἤτουν τί σε, καὶ ἐπεὶ
 οὐκ εἰδίδως, ἔπαιον; ἀλλ' ἀπῆτουν; ἀλλὰ περὶ παιδικῶν
 μαχόμενος, ἀλλὰ μεθύων ἐπαφῆνῃσα;" Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοιῶτων
 10 οὐδὲν ἔφησεν, ἐπήρετο αὐτόν, εἰ ὀπιτεῦοι· Οὐκ ἔφη·
 πᾶλιν, εἰ πελτάζοι· Οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔφη· "ἀλλ' ἡμίονον ἡλαυ-
 ρον, ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συσκήνων, ἐλεύθερος ᾶν." Ἐνταῦθα
 δὴ ἀναγινώσκει τε αὐτόν, καὶ ἤρετο· "Ἡ σὺ εἰ ὁ τὸν
 κάμνοντα ἀπάγων;" Ναὶ μὰ Δι'," ἔφη· "σὺ γὰρ ἡνάγ-
 15 καζεις· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκευὴ διεξέφυγας."
 "Ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν διάφριψις," ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, "τοιαύτη τις ἐγί-
 νετο· Διδωκα ἄλλοις ἄγειν, καὶ ἐκέλευσα πρὸς ἐμέ ἀπα-
 γαγεῖν· καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ἅπαντα σῶα ἀπέδωκά σοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 σὺ ἐμοὶ ἀπιδείξας τὸν ἄνδρα. Οἷον δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο,
 20 ἀκούσατε," ἔφη· "καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον·

"Ἀνὴρ κατελείπετο, διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι πορεύε-
 σθαι· Καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅτι
 εἰς ἡμῶν εἴη· ἡνάγκασα δὲ σε τοῦτον ἄγειν, ὥς μὴ ἀπό-
 λοιτο· καὶ γὰρ, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο."
 25 Συνέφη τοῦτο ὁ ἄνθρωπος· "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν,
 "ἐπεὶ προϋπεμψά σε, καταλαμβάνω αὐτίς, σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθο-
 φύλαξι προσιών, βόθρον ὀρύσσοντα, ὥς κατορύσσοντα τὸν ἄν-
 θρωπον· καὶ ἐπιστάς ἐπῆρουν σε· Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεστηκότων
 ἡμῶν συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀνέκραγον οἱ παρόντες,
 30 ὅτι ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ· σὺ δ' εἶπες· "Ὅποσα γε βούλεται· ὥς
 ἔγωγε αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄζω." Ἐνταῦθα ἐπαισά σε· ἀληθῆ λέ-
 γεις· ἔδοξας γὰρ μοι εἰδοῖτε ἰοικέναι, ὅτι ἐζη." "Τί
 οὖν;" ἔφη, "ἥτιόν τι ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ σοι ἀπιδείξα

αὐτόν ;” Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ πάντες ἀποθανούμεθα· τούτου οὖν ἕνεκα ζῶντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ κατορυχθῆναι ;” Τούτον μὲν ἀνέκραγον πάντες ὡς ὀλίγας παύσειεν· ἄλλους δὲ ἐκέλευε λίγαιν, διὰ τί ἕκαστος ἐπλήγη. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἀνίσταντο, αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν·

“ Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμολογῶ, παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς ἕνεκεν ὑπαξίας, ὅσοις σώζεσθαι μὲν ἤρκει δι’ ὑμᾶς, ἐν τάξει τε ἰόντων καὶ μαχομένων, ὅπου δέοι· αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες τὰς τάξεις, προδίδοντες ἀρπάζειν ἤθελον, καὶ ὑμῶν πλεονεκτεῖν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο πᾶντες ἐποιούμεν, ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπωλόμεθα. 10 Ἴδθι δὲ καὶ μαλακισόμενόν τινα, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἀνίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ προῖεμενον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἔπαισα, καὶ ἐβιασάμην πορεύεσθαι. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ χειμῶνι καὶ αὐτὸς ποτε ἀναμένων τινὰς συσκευαζόμενους, καθιζόμενος συχρὸν χρόνον, κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόγισ, καὶ τὰ σκίλη μό- 15 γισ ἐκτείνας. Ἐν ἑμαυτῷ οὖν πείραν λιβύν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλον, ὅποτε ἴδοιμι καθήμενον καὶ βλακεύοντα, ἤλαυνον· τὸ γὰρ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνδριζεσθαι παρεῖχε θερμοασίαν τινὰ καὶ ὑγρότητα· τὸ δὲ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐώρων ὑπουργὸν ὃν τῷ τε ἀποπήγνυσθαι τὸ αἷμα, καὶ τῷ ἀποσῆ- 20 πεσθαι τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν δακτύλους· ἅπερ πολλοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε παθόντας. Ἄλλον δὲ γε ἴσως ὑπολειπόμενόν που διὰ φημισιώνην, καὶ κωλύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθεν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὀπίσθεν πορεύεσθαι, ἔπαισα πύξ, ὅπως μὴ λόγχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παλαιοτο. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ἔξεστιν αὐ- 25 τοῖς σωθεῖσιν, εἴ τι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἔπαθον παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, δίκην λαβεῖν. Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, τί μέγα ἂν οὕτως ἔπαθον, ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἤξιουν λαμβάνειν ; Ἀπλοῦς μοι,” ἔφη, “ ὁ λόγος. Ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ μὲν ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ ἐκόλασά τινα, ἀξιώ ὑπέχειν δίκην, οἷαν καὶ γονεῖς υἱοῖς καὶ δι- 30 δάσκαλοι παισὶ. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱατροὶ τέμνουσι καὶ καίουσιν ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ. Εἰ δὲ ὕβρει νομίζετέ με ταῦτα πράττειν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ θαφθῶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μᾶλλον, ἢ

τότε, καὶ θρασύτερός εἰμι νῦν, ἢ τότε, καὶ οἶνον πλείω πί-
νω· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδένα παίω· ἐν ἐνδίᾳ γὰρ ὀρώ ὑμᾶς.
Ὅταν δὲ χειμῶν ᾖ, καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρεται, οὐχ
ὀρᾶτε, ὅτι καὶ νεύματος μόνου ἕνεκα χαλεπαίνει μὲν πρω-
5 ρεύς τοῖς ἐν προΐρᾳ, χαλεπαίνει δὲ κυβερνήτης τοῖς ἐν πρύ-
μνῃ; Ἰκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ μικρὰ ἀμαρτηθέντα,
πάντα συνεπιτρίψαι. Ὅτι δὲ δικαίως ἔπαιον αὐτούς, καὶ
ὑμεῖς κατεδικάσατε τότε· ἔχοντες γὰρ οὐ ψήφους ἀλλ' ὅπλα
παρεστήκετε, καὶ ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐβού-
10 λευθε. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία οὔτε τούτοις ἐπικουρεῖτε, οὔτε σὺν
ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα ἐπαίετε. Τοιγαροῦν ἐξουσίαν ἐποιή-
σατε τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῶν, ὑβρίζειν ἐὼντες αὐτούς. Οἶμαι
γὰρ, εἰ θέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσευθαι καὶ τότε
κακίστους, καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτάτους. Βοῦσκος γοῦν ὁ πύκτης,
15 ὁ Θετταλός, τότε μὲν διεμάχετο, ὡς κάμων, ἀσπίδα μὴ φέ-
ρειν· νῦν δ', ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, Κοτυωριτῶν πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπο-
δέδυκεν. Ἴν' οὖν σωφρονῇτε, τούτῳ τάναντία ποιήσετε, ἢ
τοῖς κύνας ποιοῦσι· τὼς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τοὺς χαλεποὺς τὰς
μὲν ἡμέρας διδάσσει, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιάσι· τοῦτον δέ, ἂν
20 σωφρονῇτε, τὴν νύκτα μὲν δῆσετε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε.
Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, “Θαυμάζω, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τινα ὑμῶν ἀπη-
χθόμην, μέμνησθε, καὶ οὐ σιωπᾶτε· εἰ δὲ τῷ ἢ χειμῶνα
ἐπεκούρησα, ἢ πολέμιον ἀπήρυσα, ἢ ἀσθενοῦντι ἢ ἀποροῦν-
τι συνεξεπόρισά τι, τούτων οὐδεὶς μέμνηται· οὐδ' εἴ τινα
25 καλῶς τι ποιοῦντα ἐπῆρσα, οὐδ' εἴ τινα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν
ὄντα ἐτίμησα, ὡς ἐδυνάμην, οἷδ' ἐπὶ τούτων μέμνησθε. Ἀλλὰ
μὴν καλὸν γε καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἥδιον, τῶν ἀγαθῶν
μᾶλλον, ἢ τῶν κακῶν μεμνησθαι.”

Ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἀνεμύμνησκον· καὶ πε-
30 ριγέμετο, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΤΡΟΤ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ἙΚΤΟΝ.

Κεφάλαιον α'.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔξων, οἱ δὲ καὶ ληϊζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας. Ἐκλώ-
πουνον δὲ καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες εὖ μάλα τοὺς ἀποσκευασμένους, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς πρόσω σκηνοῦντας ἐπειρῶντο
κακουργεῖν· καὶ πολεμικώτατα πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον ἐκ τού-
των. Ὁ δὲ Κορύλας, ὃς ἐτύγχανε τότε Παφλαγονίας ἄρ-
χων, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρέσβεις, ἔχοντας ἵππους
καὶ στολὰς καλὰς, λέγοντας, ὅτι Κορύλας ἔτοιμος εἴη, τοὺς
Ἕλληνας μῆτε ἀδικεῖν, μῆτ' [αὐτὸς] ἀδικεῖσθαι. Οἱ δὲ
στρατηγοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι περὶ μὲν τούτων σὺν τῇ στρα-
τιᾷ βουλευόμενοι, ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ δὲ ἐδέχοντο αὐτούς· παρεκά-
λεσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἰδόκει δικαιοτάτον εἶ-
ναι. Θύσαντες δὲ βοῦς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἄλλα ἱερεῖα,
εὐωχίαν μὲν ἀρκούσαν παρῆχον, κατακείμενοι δὲ ἐν στιβά-
σιν ἐδείπνουσιν, καὶ ἔπινον [ἐν] κερατίνοις ποτηρίοις, οἷς 15
ἐνετύγχανον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ σπονδαὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν, ἀνέστη-
σαν πρῶτον μὲν Θραῖκες, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄρχοῦντο σὺν τοῖς
ὅπλοις, καὶ ἤλλοντο ὑψηλά τε καὶ κούφως, καὶ ταῖς μα-
χαίραις ἐχρῶντο· τέλος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παίει, ὥς 20

πᾶσι δοκεῖν πεπληγέναι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃ δ' ἔπεσε τεχνικῶς
 πως. Καὶ ἀνέκραγον οἱ Παφλαγόνες. Καὶ ὁ μὲν σκυ-
 λεύσας τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ ἐτέρου, ἐξῆει ἄδων τὸν Σιτάλκαν· ἄλ-
 λοι δὲ τῶν Θρακῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐξέφερον ὡς τεθνεῶτα· ἦν
 5 δὲ οὐδὲν πεπονθώς. Μετὰ τοῦτο Λινιαῖνες καὶ Μάγνητες
 ἀνίστησαν, οἳ ὠρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς
 ὅπλοις. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἦν ὅδε· ὁ μὲν παρα-
 θέμενος τὰ ὄπλα σπείρει καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ, πυκνὰ μεταστρε-
 φόμενος, ὡς φοβούμενος· ληστής δὲ προσέρχεται· ὁ δ', ἐπει-
 10 δὴν προὔδεται, ἀπαντᾷ ἀρπάσας τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ μάχεται πρὸ
 τοῦ ζεύγους· καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν
 αὐλόν· καὶ τέλος ὁ ληστής δῆσας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεῦγος
 ἀπάγει· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης τὸν ληστήν· εἴτα παρὰ
 τοὺς βούς ζεύξας, ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρι δεδεμένον ἐλαύνει.

15 Μετὰ τοῦτο Μυσὸς εἰσῆλθεν, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχων
 πέλιτην· καὶ τότε μὲν ὡς δύο ἀντιταττομένων μιμούμενος
 ὠρχεῖτο, τότε δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἓνα ἐρχῆτο ταῖς πέλιταις, τότε δὲ
 ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα, ἔχων τὰς πέλτας· ὥστε ὅψιν [ἔχων]
 καλὴν φαίνεσθαι. Τέλος δὲ τὸ Περσικὸν ὠρχεῖτο, κροτῶν

20 τὰς πέλτας· καὶ ὠκλαζε, καὶ ἐξανίστατο· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα
 ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐποίει. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπιόντες
 οἱ Μακτινεῖς, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀναστάντες,
 ἐξοπλισάμενοι ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα, ἤεσάν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ,
 πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενοι, καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν, καὶ

25 ὠρχήσαντο, ὥς περ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις.
 Ὀφῶντες δὲ οἱ Παφλαγόνες, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, πάσας τὰς
 ὀρχήσεις ἐν ὅπλοις εἶναι. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁρῶν ὁ Μυσὸς ἐκ-
 πεπληγμένους αὐτούς, πείσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινά, πεπαμέ-
 νον ὀρχηστρίδα, εἰσάγει, σκευάσας ὡς ἐδύναιτο κάλλιστα, καὶ

30 ἀσπίδα δοὺς κούφην αὐτῇ. Ἡ δὲ ὠρχήσατο Πυρόβιχην ἐλα-
 φρῶς. Ἐνταῦθα κρότος ἦν πολὺς· καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες
 ἡρώτων, εἰ καὶ γυναῖκες συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον,
 ὅτι αὐταὶ καὶ αἱ τρεψάμεναι εἰεν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέ-
 δου. Τῇ μὲν οὖν νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ στρατεύμα· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις, μήτε ἀδικεῖν Παφλαγόνους, μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. Μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ὤχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἐδόκει παρῆναι, ἀναβάντες ἔπλεον ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πνείματι καλῷ, ἐν ἁριστιρῇ ἔχον- 5
τες τὴν Παφλαγονίαν. Τῇ δ' ἄλλῃ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Σινώ-
πην, καὶ ὠρμίσατο εἰς Ἀρμήνην τῆς Σινώπης. Σινωπεῖς
δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ, Μιλησίων δὲ ἄποικοι
εἰσίν. Οὗτοι ξένια πέμπουσιν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλφίτων μὲν
μεδίμνους τριεχιλίους, οἴνου δὲ περὶ μίαι χίλια καὶ πεντα- 10
κόσια. Καὶ Χειρίλυφος ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε τριήρεις ἔχων. Καὶ
οἱ μὲν στρατιώταις προσεδόκων, ἄγοντά τι σφίσιν ἦκεν· ὁ
δὲ ἦγε μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπήγγελλε δέ, ὅτι ἐπαινοίη αὐτοὺς καὶ
Ἀναξίβιος ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπισχνετο
Ἀναξίβιος, εἰ ἀφικνοῖντο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, μισθοφορὰν αὐ- 15
τοῖς εἶσεσθαι.

Καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἀρμένῃ ἔμειναν οἱ στρατιῶται ἡμέρας
πέντε. Ὡς δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐδόκουν ἐγγὺς γ' γίνεσθαι, ἥδη
μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσῆει αὐτοὺς, ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἔχοντίς τι
οἰκαδὲ ἀφικνοῖντο. Ἠγήσαντο οὖν, εἰ ἕνα ἔλοιτο ἄρχοντα, 20
μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ πολυαρχίας οὔσης δύνασθαι τὸν ἕνα χρῆσθαι
τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· καὶ εἴ τι δέοι λαν-
θάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν [καὶ] κρύπτεσθαι· καὶ εἴ τι αὐτοῖς
φθάνειν, ἦττον ἂν ὑστερίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς
ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ἐνὶ περαινέσθαι ἂν· τὸν δὲ 25
ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἔπραττον πάντα οἱ στρα-
τηγοί. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διεννοοῦντο, ἐτρέποντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ξενο-
φῶντα· καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἔλεγον προσιόντες αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἡ στρα-
τιὰ οὕτως γιγνώσκει· καὶ εὖνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἕκαστός τις
ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῇ 30
μὲν ἐβούλετο ταῦτα, νομίζων καὶ τὴν τιμὴν μεῖζω οὕτως
ἐαυτῷ γίνεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν
τοῦνομα μεῖζον ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτοῦ· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τι-
νος ἂν αἴτιος τῇ στρατιᾷ γενέσθαι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμήματα ἐπῆρεν αὐτόν, ἐπιθυμῆν
 αὐτοκρίτορα γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα. Ὅποτε δ' αὐ ἐνθυμοῖτο,
 ὅτι ἄθλων μὲν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅπη τὸ μέλλον ἔξει, διὰ
 τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κίνδυνος εἴη καὶ τὴν προειργασμένην δόξαν
 5 ἀποβαλεῖν, ἤπορεῖτο. Διαπορουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ διακρῖναι,
 ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι, τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνακοινῶσαι· καὶ παρα-
 στησάμενος δύνῃ ἱρεῖα, ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, ὅςπερ
 αὐτῷ μαντευτὸς ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καὶ τὸ ὄναρ δὴ ἀπὸ τούτου
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμιζεν ἰωρακέναι, ὃ εἶδεν, ὅτε ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ συν-
 10 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς καθίστασθαι. Καὶ ὅτε ἐξ
 Ἐφῆσου δὲ ὤρματο, Κύρῳ συσταθισόμενος, αἰετὸν ἀνε-
 μιμνήσκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον, καθήμενον μὲν-
 τοι, ὅνπερ ὁ μάντις προτίμπων αὐτόν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι μέγας
 μὲν οἰωνὸς εἴη καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικός, καὶ ἔνδοξος, ἐπίπονος
 15 μέντοι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὄρνεα μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ αἰετῷ
 καθημένῳ· οὐ μέντοι χρηματιστικὸν εἶναι τὸν οἰωνόν· τὸν
 γὰρ αἰετὸν περιπετόμενον· μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
 Οὕτω δὲ θυομένῳ αὐτῷ διαφανῶς ὁ θεὸς σημαίνει, μήτε
 προςδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, μήτε, εἰ αἰροῖντο, ἀποδέχεσθαι.
 20 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. Ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ συνῆλθε, καὶ
 πάντες ἔλεγον ἓνα αἰρεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξε, προσ-
 βάλλοντο αὐτόν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔδοκει δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι αἰρή-
 σονται αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἐπιψηφίζοι, ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε·

“ Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἠδομαι μὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμώμενος, εἵπερ
 25 ἄνθρωπός εἰμι, καὶ χάριν ἔχω, καὶ εὐχομαι, δοῦναι μοι
 τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτιὸν τινος ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῦ γενέσθαι· τὸ μέντοι
 ἐμὲ προκριθῆναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἄρχοντα, Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς
 παρόντος, οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ συμφέρον εἶναι, ἀλλ'
 ἥτιον ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν, εἴ τι δέοισθε, παρ' αὐτῶν·
 30 ἐμοί τε αὖ οὐ πάνυ τι νομίζω τοῦτο ἀσφαλές εἶναι. Ὅρῳ
 γάρ, ὅτι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι μου οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπάυσαντο πολε-
 μούντες, πρὶν ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογεῖν, Λακε-
 δαιμονίους καὶ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὡμο-

λόγησαν, εὐθύς ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες, καὶ οὐκέτι πέρα ἐπολιόρκησαν τὴν πόλιν. Εἰ οὖν, ταῦτα ὁρῶν ἐγώ, δοκοῖ-
 ην, ὅπου δυναίμην, ἐταῦθ' ἄκυρον ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων ἀξίω-
 μα, ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ, μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονισθῇ. Ὅ
 δ' ὑμεῖς ἐννοεῖτε, ὅτι ἦτιον ἂν στάσις εἴη ἐνὸς ἄρχοντος, ἢ
 πολλῶν, εὐ ἴστε, ὅτι ἄλλον μὲν ἐλόμενοι οὐχ εὐρήσετε ἐμὲ
 στασιάζοντα· νομίζω γάρ, ὅστις ἐν πολέμῳ ὦν στασιάζει
 πρὸς ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζ-
 ει· ἂν δ' ἐμὲ ἔλθῃ, οὐκ ἂν θανατάσαιμι, εἴ τινα εὐροιτε
 καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον." 10

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐξανίσταντο, λέγοντες,
 ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν ἄρχειν. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν,
 "ὅτι γελοῖον εἴη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχοι, ὡς ὀργιοῦνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
 καὶ ἂν σύνδειπνοι συνελθόντες μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιον συμπο-
 σίαρχον αἰρῶνται· ἐπεὶ εἰ οὕτω γε τοῦτ' ἔχει," ἔφη, "οὐδὲ 15
 λοχαγεῖν ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἐσμέν." Ἐν-
 ταῦθα δὴ, ὡς· εἰ ἐκπότης τοῦ Ἀγασίου, ἀνεθορύβησαν.

Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἰώρα πλείονος ἐνδέον, παρελθὼν
 εἶπεν· "Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες," ἔφη, "ὡς πάνυ εἰδῆτε, ὁμνύω
 ὑμῖν Θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ἢ μὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν 20
 γνώμην ᾗσανόμην, ἐθνόμεν, εἰ βέλτιον εἴη ὑμῖν τε, ἐμοὶ
 ἐπιτρέψαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ ἐμοί, ὑποστῆναι· καὶ μοι
 οἱ Θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμνησαν, ὡς τε καὶ ἰδιώτην ἂν
 γνῶναι, ὅτι [ταύτης] τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέχεσθαι με δεῖ." Οὕτω δὴ Χειρίσοφον αἰροῦνται. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ ᾗρέθη, 25
 παρελθὼν εἶπεν· "Ἀλλά," ἔφη, "ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν ἴστε,
 ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἔγωγε ἱστασάμην, εἰ ἄλλον εἴλεσθε. Ξενοφῶντα
 μέντοι," ἔφη, "ὠνήσατε, οὐχὶ ἐλόμενοι· ὡς καὶ νῦν Δέξιπ-
 πος ἤδη διέβαλεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον, ὃ τι ἐδύνατο, καὶ
 μάλα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν σιγάζοντος." Ὅ δὲ ἔφη νομίζειν, αὐτὸν 30
 Τιμασίῳ μᾶλλον συνάρχειν ἐθελῆσαι, Λαρδανεῖ ὄντι, τοῦ
 Κλεάρχου στρατεύματος, ἢ ἑαυτῷ, Λάκωνι ὄντι. "Ἐπεὶ μέν-
 τοι ἐμὲ εἴλεσθε," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι, ὃ τι ἂν δύνω-

μαι, ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν. Καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρὰσκευάζεσθε, ὥς αὐρίον, ἔαν πλοῦς ἦ, ἀναξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἔσται εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἅπαντας οὖν δεῖ ἐκεῖσε πειρᾶσθαι κατασχῆναι τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ἐπειδὴν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, βουλευόμεθα."

Κεφάλαιον β'.

- 8 Ἐντεῦθεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμενοι πνεύματι καλῷ ἔπλεον ἡμέρας δύο παρὰ τὴν γῆν. Καὶ παραπλέοντες ἐθεώρουν τὴν Ἰασονίαν ἀκτὴν, ἐνθα ἡ Ἀργὼ λέγεται ὀρμύσασθαι, καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ στόματα· πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Θερμώδοντος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἰριος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἄλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ
10 τον τοῦ Παρθενίου· τοῦτον δὲ παραπλεύσαντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Μεγαρέων ἀποικον, οὐσαν δ' ἐν τῇ Μυριανδυνῶν χώρᾳ. Καὶ ὠρμύσαντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀχερουσιᾷ Χερσόνησσι· ἐνθα λέγεται Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον κύνα καταβῆναι, οὗ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεικνύουσι
15 τῆς καταβάσεως, τὸ βάθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια. Ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὗ Ἡρακλεῶται ξένια πέμπουσιν, ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους τριςχιλίους, καὶ οἶνου κεράμια διςχίλια, καὶ βοῦς εἴκοσι, καὶ οἷς ἑκατόν. Ἐνταῦθα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ρεῖ ποταμός, Λύκος ὄνομα, εὖρος ὡς δύο πλέθρων.
20 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται συλλεγέστες ἐβουλεύοντο, τὴν λοιπὴν πορείαν πότερον κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν χρὴ πορεύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. Ἀναστὰς δὲ Λύκων Ἀχαιὸς εἶπε· "Θαυμάζω μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι οὐ πειρῶνται ἡμῶν ἐκπορίζειν σιτηρέσιον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ξένια οὐ μὴ γένηται τῇ
25 στρατιᾷ τριῶν ἡμερῶν σῖτα· ὁπόθεν δ' ἐπισιτισάμενοι πορεύεσόμεθα, οὐκ ἔστιν," ἔφη. "Ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ, αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τριςχιλίους Κυζικηνούς." Ἄλλος δὲ εἶπε, "[Μηνὸς μισθόν,] μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ μυρίους· καὶ ἱλομένους πρέσβεις αὐτίκα μάλα, ἡμῶν καθημένων, πέμπειν

πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εἰδέναι, ὅ τι ἂν ἀπαγγέλλωσι, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι." Ἐντεῦθεν προὔβαλοντο πρέσβεις, πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφον, ὅτι ἄρχων ἦρῃτο· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα· οἱ δ' ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμάχοντο· ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ταῦτα ἐδόκει, μὴ ἀναγκάζειν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φίλιαν ὅ τι μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες διδοῦν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἐδόκουν ἀπρόθυμοι εἶναι, πέμπουσι Λύκωνα Ἀχαιόν, καὶ Καλλίμαχον Παργάσιον, καὶ Ἀγασίαν Στυμφάλιον. Οὗτοι ἐλθόντες ἔλιγον τὰ δεδογμένα· τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ἔφασαν καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιεν ταῦτα [πάντα]. Ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται, βουλευέσθαι ἔφασαν· καὶ εὐθύς τὰ τε χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνηγον, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἴσω ἀνέσκειυσαν, καὶ αἱ πύλαι ἐκέκλειντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὄπλα ἐφαίνετο.

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ ταράξαντες ταῦτα, τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡτιῶντο διαφθεῖρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν· καὶ συνλίσταντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοί· προειστήκει δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καλλίμαχος τε ὁ Παργάσιος καὶ Λύκων ὁ Ἀχαιός. Οἱ δὲ λόγοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἶη ἄρχειν ἓνα Ἀθηναῖον Πελοποννησίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, μηδεμίαν δύναμιν παρεχόμενον εἰς τὴν στρατίαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόνους σφᾶς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη ἄλλους, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν σωτηρίαν σφῶν κατειργασμένων· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς κατειργασμένους Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲν εἶναι· (καὶ ἦν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν τοῦ ὅλου στρατεύματος Ἀρκάδεις καὶ Ἀχαιοί·) εἰ οὖν σωφρονοῖεν οὗτοι, συστάντες, καὶ στρατηγούς ἐλόμενοι ἑαυτῶν, καθ' ἑαυτούς [τε] ἂν τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο, καὶ πειρῶντο ἀγαθὸν τι λαμβάνειν. Ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ ἀπολιπόντες Χειρίσοφον, εἰ τινες ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀρκάδες ἢ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα, συνέστησαν· καὶ στρατηγούς αἰρουῦνται ἑαυτῶν δέκα· τούτους δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκ τῆς νικώσης, ὅ τι δοκoίη τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴ Χειρισόφου ἐνταῦθα κατελύθη, ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτη ἢ ἐβδόμῃ, ἀφ' ἧς ἦρθε.

Ξενοφῶν μέντοι ἐβούλετο κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, νομίζων, οὕτως ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι, ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον στέλλεσθαι· ἀλλὰ Νέων ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούσας τοῦ Χειρισόφου, ὅτι Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἄρμοστὴς φαίη, τριήρεις ἔχων ἦξιν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα· ὅπως οὖν μηδεὶς μετάσχοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται ἐκπλεύσειαν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων, διὰ ταῦτα συμβούλευε. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος, ἅμα μὲν ἀθυμῶν τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἅμα δὲ μισῶν ἐκ τούτου τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῷ ποιεῖν, ὃ τι βούλεται. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἐπιχειρήσεν ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι· θυομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἥγημόνι Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ κοινουμένῳ, πότερα λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη στρατεῦσθαι, ἔχοντι τοὺς παραμείναντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἢ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἐσήμηνεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς, συμβουλεύεσθαι. Οὕτω γίγνεται τὸ στράτευμα τριχά· Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πλείους ἢ τετρακιςχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, ὀπλῖται πάντες· Χειρισόφῳ δὲ ὀπλῖται μὲν εἰς τετρακοσίους καὶ χίλους, πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, οἱ Κλεάρχου Θοράκες· Ξενοφῶντι δὲ ὀπλῖται μὲν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χίλους, πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς τριακοσίους· ἵππικόν δὲ μόνος οὗτος εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετταράκοντα ἵππείας.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες, διαπραξάμενοι πλοῖα παρὰ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν, πρῶτοι πλείουσιν, ὅπως ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπυρόντες τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, λάβοιεν ὅτι πλεῖστα· καὶ ἀποβαίνουσιν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα, κατὰ μέσον πῶς τῆς Θοράκης. Χειρίσοφος δ' εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἀρξάμενος, πεζῇ ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς χώρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Θοράκην ἐνέβαλλε, παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἐπορεύετο· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἡσθάνει· Ξενοφῶν δὲ, πλοῖα λαβὼν, ἀποβαίνει ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς Θοράκης καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλεωτίδος, καὶ διὰ μεσογαίας ἐπορεύετο.

Κεφάλαιον γ'.

[Ὅν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἢ τε Χειρισόφου ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντός κατελύθη, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ στράτευμα ἐσχίσθη, ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω εἴρηται.] Ἐπραξαν δ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι τάδε· Οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες, ἃς ἀπέβησαν νυκτὸς εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα, πορευόμενοι εἰς τὰς πρώτας κώμας, στάδια ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὡς 6 τριάκοντα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς ἐγένετο, ἦγεν ἕκαστος στρατηγὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ λόχος ἐπὶ κώμην· ὅποια δὲ μείζων [κώμη] ἐδόκει εἶναι, σύνδυο λόχους ἦγον οἱ στρατηγοί. Συνεβάλλοντο δὲ καὶ λόφον, εἰς ὃν δίοι πάντας ἀλλεῖσθαι· καὶ, ἅτε ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, ἀνδράποδά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβον, καὶ πρό- 10 βατα πολλὰ περιεβάλλοντο.

Οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες ἠθροίζοντο οἱ διαφυγόντες· πολλοὶ δὲ διέφυγον, πελτασταὶ ὄντες, ὀπλίτας, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν χειρῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνελέγησαν, πρώτον μὲν τῷ Σμίκρητος λόχῳ, ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων στρατηγῶν, ἀπιδόντι ἤδη εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον, 15 καὶ πολλὰ χρίματα ἄγοντι, ἐπιτίθενται. Καὶ τῶς μὲν ἐμάχοντο ἅμα πορευόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες· ἐπὶ δὲ διαβάσει χαράδρας τρέπονται αὐτούς· καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν Σμίκρητα ἀποκτινύουσι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας· ἄλλου δὲ λόχου τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν, τοῦ Ἠγυσάνδρου, ὅκτω μόνους κατέλιπον, 20 καὶ αὐτὸς Ἠγύσανδρος ἐσώθη. Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μὲν λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον, οἱ μὲν σὺν πράγμασιν, οἱ δ' ἄνευ πραγμάτων· οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες, ἐπεὶ εὐτύχησαν τοῦτο τὸ εὐτύχημα, συνεβίων τε ἀλλήλους, καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐφύωμένως τῆς νυκτός. Καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν λόφον, ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρα- 25 τοπεδεύοντο, ἐτάττοντο καὶ ἱππεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ πελτασταί, καὶ αἱ πλείονες συνέβρεον· καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀσφαλῶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες οὔτε τοξότην εἶχον οὔτε ἀκοντιστήν οὔτε ἱππέα· οἱ δὲ, προσθέντες καὶ προσε- λαύοντες ἠκόντιζον· ὁπότε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίοισιν, φηδὶως ἀπέ- 30

φεινον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλη ἐπετίθεντο. Καὶ τῶν μὲν πολλοὶ ἐτιρώσκαντο, τῶν δὲ οὐδείς· ὥστε κινήθῃναι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἰργον αὐτοὺς οἱ Θρᾷκες. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπορία πολλή ἦν, διελέγοντο περὶ σπονδῶν· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμολόγητο αὐτοῖς, ὁμήρους δ' οὐκ ἐδίδουσαν οἱ Θρᾷκες, αἰτούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ἴσχετο. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οὕτως εἶχε.

Χειρίσσοφος δέ, ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενος παρὰ θάλατταν, 10 ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κίλπης λιμένα. Ξενοφῶντι δέ, διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας πορευομένῳ, οἱ ἱππεῖς προκαταθέοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι πρεσβύταις πορευομένοις ποι. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἤχθησαν πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἔρωτᾷ αὐτούς, εἴ που ῥησθῆναι ἄλλου στρατεύματος ὄντος Ἑλληνικοῦ. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα, 15 καὶ νῦν ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται ἐπὶ λόφου, οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες πάντες περικεκυκλωμένοι εἰεν αὐτούς. Ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους τούτους ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς, ὅπως ἡγεμόνες εἴεν, ὅπη δέοι· σκοποὺς δὲ καταστήσας [δέκα], συνέλεξε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἔλεξεν·

20 “Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ μὲν τεθνῶσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς πολιορκοῦνται. Νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολοῦνται, οὐδ' ἡμῖν εἶναι οὐδεμίαν σωτηρίαν, οὕτω μὲν πολλῶν ὄντων πολεμίων, οὕτω δὲ τεθαφφύκτων. Κράτιστον οὖν ἡμῖν, ὡς τάχιστα βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, 25 ὅπως, εἰ ἔτι εἰσὶ σῶοι, σὺν ἐκείνοις μαχώμεθα, καὶ μὴ μόνοι λειφθέντες μόνοι καὶ κινδυνεύσωμεν. Νῦν μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδευόμεθα, προελθόντες, ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι εἰς τὸ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι· ἕως δ' ἂν πορευώμεθα, Τιμασίῳν, ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας, προελαυνέτω, ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σκοπεῖω 30 τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ.” Παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ἀνθρώπους εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως, εἰ πού τι ποθὲν καθορῶεν, σημαίνοιεν· ἐκέλευε δὲ καλεῖν ἅπαντα, ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν κανσίμῳ. “Ἡμῶς

μὲν γὰρ ἀποδραίμεν ἂν οὐδαμοῦ ἐνθίνδει· πολλή μὲν γάρ,"
 ἔφη, "εἰς Ἡράκλειαν πάλιν ἀπιέναι, πολλή δὲ εἰς Χρυσόπολιν
 διελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πλησίον· εἰς Κάλνης δὲ λιμένα,
 ἐνθα Χειρίσοφον εἰκάζομεν εἶναι, εἰ σέσωσται, ἐλαχίστη ὁδός.
 Ἀλλὰ δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοῖά ἐστιν, οἷς ἀποπλευσοῦμεθα· 5
 μίνουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Τῶν
 δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἀπολομένων, σὺν τοῖς Χειρίσοφον μό-
 νοις κάκιόν ἐστι διακινδυνεύειν, ἢ τῶνδε σωθέντων πάντας
 εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθόντας κοινῇ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχουσιν. Ἀλλὰ
 χρὴ παρασκευασομένους τὴν γνώμην πορεύεσθαι, ὥς νῦν ἡ 10
 εὐκλεῶς τελευτῆσαι ἐστίν, ἢ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι,
 Ἑλλήνας τοσούτους σώσαντας. Καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὥς ἄγει οὐ-
 τως, ὅς τοὺς μεγαληγορήσαντας, ὥς πλέον φρονοῦντας, τα-
 πεινώσαι βούλεται· ἡμᾶς δέ, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχομέ-
 νους, ἐντιμοτέρους ἐκείνων καταστήσαι. Ἀλλ' ἔπεισθαι χρὴ 15
 καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὥς ἂν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον δύνῃσθε
 ποιῆν."

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤγειτο. Οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς, διασπειρόμενοι ἐφ'
 ὅσον καλῶς εἶχεν, ἔκαιον, ἢ ἐβάδιζον. Καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ
 ἐπιπαριόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, ἔκαιον πάντα, ὅσα καύσιμα 20
 εἴρων· καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δέ, εἴ τιτι παραλειπομένῳ ἐντυχά-
 νοιεν· ὥστε πᾶσα ἡ χώρα αἰθεσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ στρατεύ-
 μα πολὺ εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὦρα ἦν, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ
 λόφον ἐκβάντες, καὶ τὰ τε τῶν πολεμίων πυρὰ εἴρων, ἀπει-
 χον γὰρ ὥς τετταράκοντα στάδια, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥς ἐδύναντο 25
 πλεῖστα πυρὰ ἔκαιον. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν τάχιστα, παρηγ-
 γέλθη τὰ πυρὰ κατασβεννύναι πάντα. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα
 φυλακὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσευ-
 ξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ συνταξάμενοι ὥς εἰς μάχην, ἐπορεύ-
 οντο ἢ ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. Τιμασίῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, ἔχοντες 30
 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ προειλάνοντες, ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ
 γενόμενοι, ἐνθα ἐπολιορκοῦντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. Καὶ οὐχ ὀρώ-
 σιν οὔτε τὸ φίλιον στρατεύμα, οὔτε τὸ πολέμιον· (καὶ ταῦ-

τα παραγγέλλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τὸ στράτευμα·) γραῖδια δὲ καὶ γερόντια καὶ προβάτια ὀλίγα καὶ βοῦς καταλειμμένους. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θαῦμα ἦν, τί εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν καταλειμμένων ἐπυνθά-
 5 νοντο, ὅτι οἱ μὲν Θρᾷκες εὐθύς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ὥχοντο ἀπιόν-
 τες· ξωθεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν οἴχεσθαι· ὅπου δέ, οὐκ εἰδέναι.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ ἡρίστησαν, συσκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, βουλόμενοι ὡς τάχιστα συμμῆ-
 10 ξαι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. Καὶ πορευόμενοι ἑάρων τὸν στίβον τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κάλπης ὁδόν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸ αὐτό, ἄσμενοι τε εἶδον ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ὥσπερ ἀδελφούς. Καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες τῶν περὶ Ξενοφῶντα, τί τὰ πυρὰ κατασβέπειαν·
 15 “ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ,” ἔφασαν, “ώόμεθα, ὑμᾶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πυρὰ οὐχ ἑωρῶμεν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἦξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι δέ, ὡς γ' ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν, τοῦτο δει-
 σαντες ἀπῆλθον· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀπῆ-
 20 εσαν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀφίκευθε, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐξῆκεν, ώόμεθ', ὑμᾶς, πυθομένους τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, φοβηθέντας οἴχεσθαι ἀποδράντας ἐπὶ θάλατταν· καὶ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν, μὴ ἀπολι-
 πέσθαι ὑμῶν. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐπορεύθη-
 μεν.”

Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἠύλιζοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ
 25 αἰγιαλοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, ὃ καλεῖται Κάλπης λιμὴν, ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Θρᾷκῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀρξα-
 μένη δὲ ἡ Θρᾷκη αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου μέχρις Ἡρακλείας, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοντι. Καὶ τριήρει μὲν ἐστὶν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου κώπαις ἡμέρας
 30 μάλα μακρᾶς πλοῦς· ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλη μὲν πόλις οὐδεμία,

οὔτε φίλα, οὔτε Ἕλληνίς, ἀλλὰ Θρηῆκες Βιθυνοί· καὶ οὓς ἂν
 λάβωσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων [ἣ] ἐκπίπτοντας ἢ ἄλλως πως, δεῖνὰ ὑβρί-
 ζειν λέγονται τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ὁ δὲ Κάλπης λιμὴν ἐν μέσῳ μὲν
 κεῖται ἐκατέρωθεν πλεόντων ἐξ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Βυζαντίου·
 ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ προκείμενον χωρίον, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θ
 θάλατταν καθήκον αὐτοῦ, πέτρα ἀπορύωξ, ὕψος, ὅπη ἐλά-
 χιστον, οὐ μείον εἴκοσιν ὀργυιῶν· ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν, ὁ εἰς τὴν
 γῆν ἀνήκων τοῦ χωρίου, μάλιστα τετάρων πλείθρων τὸ εὐ-
 ρος· τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐχενος χωρίον, ἱκανὸν μυρίοις ἀν-
 θρώποις οἰκῆσαι. Λιμὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ, τὸ πρὸς 10
 ἐσπέραν αἰγιαλὸν ἔχων. Κρήνη δὲ ἡδέος ὕδατος καὶ ἄ-
 φθονος ῥέουσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ, ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ
 χωρίου. Ξύλα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πάντῃ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ
 καλὰ ναυπηγήσιμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ. Τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ ἐν
 τῷ λιμένι εἰς μεσούγαιαν μὲν ἀνήκει, ὅσον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδί- 15
 ουσ, καὶ τοῦτο γεῶδες καὶ ἄλιθον· τὸ δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν,
 πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, δασὺ πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς
 καὶ μεγάλοις ξύλοις. ἼΙ δ' ἄλλη χώρα καλὴ καὶ πολλή·
 καὶ κῶμαι ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ εὖ οἰκούμεναι· φέρε
 γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πυροὺς καὶ ὕσπρια πάντα καὶ με- 20
 λίνας καὶ σήσαμον καὶ σῦκα ἀρκούντα καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς
 καὶ ἡδυοίνους, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα, πλην ἐλαιῶν. Ἡ μὲν χώρα
 ἦν τοιαύτη.

Ἐσκήνουν δὲ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ· εἰς δὲ τὸ
 πόλισμα ἂν γεγόμενον οὐκ ἐβούλοντο στρατοπεδεύεσθαι· 25
 ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, βου-
 λομένων τινῶν κατοικίσαι πόλιν. Τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν οἱ
 πλεῖστοι ἦσαν οὐ σπάνει βίου ἐκπεπλευκότες ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τὴν
 μισθοφοράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἀκούοντες, οἱ μὲν καὶ
 ἄνδρας ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσαγγελωκότες χρήματα, καὶ 30
 τούτων ἕτεροι ἀποδεδρακότες πατέρας καὶ μητέρας, οἱ δὲ
 καὶ τέκνα καταλιπόντες, ὥς χρήματα αὐτοῖς κτησάμενοι
 ἤζοντες πάλιν, ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παρὰ Κύρῳ

πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν. Τοιοῦτοι οὖν ὄντες, ἐπόθουν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα σῶζεσθαι.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑστεραὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταυτὸ συνόδου, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἐθύετο Ξενοφῶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξάγειν· ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερά ἐγένετο, εἶποντο καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες, καὶ τοὺς νεκρούς, τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἔνθαπερ ἔπεσον, ἑκάστους ἔθαψαν· (ἦδη γὰρ ἦσαν πεμπταῖοι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι ἦν)· ἐνίοις δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν συνενεγκόντες, ἔθαψαν 10 ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα· οὓς δὲ μὴ εὗρισκον, κενοτάφιον αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν μέγα, [καὶ πυρὰν μεγάλην,] καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέθευαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πάν- 15 τες· συνῆγον δὲ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα Ἀγασίας Στιμφάλιος, ὁ λοχαγός, καὶ Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλεῖος, λοχαγός, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων· καὶ δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο, ἐάν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μνησθῇ διχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν ζημιοῦσθαι· καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι, ἥπερ πρόσθεν εἶχε τὸ 20 στράτευμα, καὶ ἄρχειν τοὺς πρόσθεν στρατηγούς. Καὶ Χερσίφορος μὲν ἦδη τετελευτήκει, φάρμακον πιών, πυρετῶν· τὰ δ' ἐκείνου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος παρέλαβε.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· “ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὴν μὲν πορείαν, ὡς ἔοικε, δῆλον ὅτι περὶ ποιη- 25 τέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πλοῖα· ἀνάγκη δὲ πορεύεσθαι ἦδη· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μένουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “θυσομένα· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχόμε- νους, εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε· οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἀναισθησθήκα- σιν.” Ἐκ τοῦτου ἐθύοντο οἱ στρατηγοί, μάντις δὲ παρῆν 30 Ἀρηξίων Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ Σιλανός ὁ Ἀμβρακιώτης ἦδη ἀποδε- δράκει, πλοῖον μισθωσάμενος, ἐξ Ἡρακλείας. Θυομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαύσαντο. Καὶ τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν, ὡς ὁ

Ξενοφῶν, βουλόμενος τὸ χωρίον οἰκίσαι, πέπεικε τὸν μάντιν λέγειν, ὡς τὰ ἱερά οὐ γίγνεται ἐπὶ ἀφόδῳ. Ἐντεῦθεν κηρύξας Ξενοφῶν, τῇ αὖριον παρῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τὸν βουλόμενον, καὶ μάντις εἴ τις εἴη, παραγγείλας παρῆναι, ὡς συνθρασόμενον τὰ ἱερά, ἔθυσ· καὶ ἐνταῦθα παρήσαν πολ- 5
λοι. Θυομένων δὲ πάλιν εἰς τρίς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ, οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. Ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλειπεν, ἃ ἔχοντες ἤλθον, καὶ ἀγορὰ οὐδεμία παρῆν.

Ἐκ τούτου συναλθόντων, εἶπε πάλιν Ξενοφῶν· “Ὡ 10
ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τὰ ἱερά οὐπω γίνε-
ται· τῶν δ’ ἐπιτηδείων ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς δεομένους· ἀνάγκη οὖν
μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, θύεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου.” Ἀναστάς δὲ
τις εἶπε· “Καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα ἡμῖν οὐ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά·
ὡς γὰρ ἐγώ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἤκοντος πλοίου, ἤκου- 15
σά τινος, ὅτι Κλεάνδρος [ὁ] ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστής μέλλει
ῆξειν, πλοῖα ἔχων καὶ τριήρεις.” Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀναμένειν
μὲν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐξι-
ναί· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάλιν ἐθύετο εἰς τρίς, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο
τὰ ἱερά· καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἰόντες τὴν Ξενοφῶντος, 20
ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχοιεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἂν ἔφη ἐξα-
γαγεῖν, μὴ γιγνομένων τῶν ἱερῶν.

Καὶ πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐθύετο, καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσα ἡ
στρατιά, διὰ τὸ μέλειν πᾶσιν, ἐκνκλοῦτο περὶ τὰ ἱερά· τὰ
δὲ θύματα ἐπελελοίπει. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐξῆγον μὲν οὐ, 25
συνεκάλεσαν δέ. Εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· “Ἵσως οἱ πολέ-
μιοι συνειλεγμένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀνάγκη μάχεσθαι· εἰ οὖν, κα-
ταλιπόντες τὰ σκεύη ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ, ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευ-
ασμένοι ὣοιμεν, Ἵσως ἂν τὰ ἱερά μᾶλλον προχωροίη ἡμῖν.”
Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνέκραγον, ὡς οὐδὲν δεόν εἰς 30
τὸ χωρίον ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ θύεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα. Καὶ πρόβατα
μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, βοῦν δὲ ὑφ’ ἀμάξης προιάμενοι ἐθύοντο· καὶ
Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνδρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Ἀρκάδος προθυμῆσθαι, εἴ
τι ἐν τούτῳ εἴη. Ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὡς ἐγένετο τὰ ἱερά.

Νέων δὲ ἦν μὲν στρατηγὸς κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου μέρος·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς εἶχον δεινῶς τῇ ἐνδείᾳ,
 βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς χάρισσασθαι, εὐρών τινα ἀνθρῶπον Ἡρα-
 κλεώτην, ὃς ἔφη κώμας ἐγγὺς εἶδέναι, ὅθεν εἴη λαβεῖν τὰ
 5 ἐπιτήδεια, ἐκήρυξε, τὸν βουλόμενον ἵνα ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,
 ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἔσομένου. Ἐξέρχονται δὲ σὺν δορατίοις, καὶ
 ἄσχοις, καὶ θυλάκοις, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις, εἰς διςχιλίους
 ἀνθρώπους. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς κώμας, καὶ διεσπεί-
 ροντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Φαρνα-
 10 βάζου ἱππεῖς πρῶτοι· βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἦσαν τοῖς Βιθυ-
 νοῖς, βουλόμενοι σὺν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, εἰ δύναιντο, ἀποκαλῦ-
 σαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μὴ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν. Οὗτοι οἱ
 ἱππεῖς ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ μείον [ῆ] πεντακοσί-
 ον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνέφυγον.
 15 Ἐκ τούτου ἀπαγγέλλει τις ταῦτα τῶν ἀποπεφευγόντων εἰς
 τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐγγιγένητο τὰ
 ἱερὰ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λαβὼν βοῦν ὑπὸ ἀμάξης, οὐ γὰρ ἦν
 ἄλλα ἱρεῖα, σφαγιάσας ἐβόηθει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μέχρι
 πεντήκοντα εἰὼν πάντες. Καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς λοιποὺς
 20 ἄνδρας, εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνοῦνται. Καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἀμ-
 φι ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἦν, καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες μάλα αἰθύμως ἔχοντες
 ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο. Καὶ ἐξαπίνης διὰ τῶν λασίων τῶν Βιθυνῶν
 τινες ἐπιγενόμενοι τοῖς προφύλαξι τοὺς μὲν κατέκανον, τοὺς
 δὲ ἐδίωξαν μέχρις εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ κραυγῆς γενομέ-
 25 νης, εἰς τὰ ὕπλα πάντες συνέδραμον οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ διώ-
 κειν μὲν καὶ κινεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδό-
 κει εἶναι· δασέα γὰρ ἦν τὰ χωρία· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐνυ-
 κτέρουν, φυλαττόμενοι ἱκανοὶς φύλαξι.

Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Τὴν μὲν νύκτα οὕτω διήγαγον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸ ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον ἤγουντο· οἱ δὲ εἶποντο, ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη. Πρὶν δὲ ὑρίστου ὤραν εἶναι, ἀπειτάφρευσαν, ἥ ἢ εἰσοδος ἦν εἰς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἀπεισταύρωσαν ἅπαν, καταλιπόντες τρεῖς πύλας. Καὶ 6 πλοῖον ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἦκεν, ἄλφιτα ἄγον καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ οἶνον. Πρωτὶ δ' ἀνασταὺς Ξενοφῶν ἐθύετο ἐπεξόδια, καὶ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ. Καὶ ἤδη τέλος ἐχόντων τῶν ἱερῶν, ὅρᾳ αἰτὸν αἴσιον ὁ μάντις Ἀρηξίων Παρθένσιος, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύει τὸν Ξενοφῶντα. Καὶ διαβίντες τὴν τά- 10 φρον, τὰ ὄπλα τίθενται, καὶ ἐκήρυξαν ἀριστήσαντις ἐξίναί τοὺς στρατιώτας σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ ὄχλον καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐξήμεσαν, Νέων δὲ οὐ· ἰδόκει γὰρ κάλλιστον εἶναι, τοῦτον φύ- 15 λακα καταλιπεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπέλιπον αὐτόν, αἰσχυρόμενοι μὴ ἐφίπεσθαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐξιόντων, κατέλιπον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔμενον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο. Πρὶν δὲ πέντε καὶ δέκα στάδια διελθῆναι, ἐνέτυχον ἤδη νεκροῖς· καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ κέ- 20 ρατος ποιησήμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους φανέντας νεκρούς, ἔθαπτον πάντας, ὅποσους ἐπελάμβανε τὸ κέρας. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἔθαψαν, προαγαγόντες, καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν αὐ- 25 θις ποιησήμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀτάφων, ἔθαπτον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅποσους ἐπελάμβανε ἡ στρατιὰ. Ἐπεὶ 30 δὲ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ἔνθα ἔκειντο ἀθρόοι, συννεγκόντες αὐτοὺς ἔθαψαν.

Ἦδη δὲ πέρα μεσοῦσης τῆς ἡμέρας προαγαγόντες τὸ στρατεύμα ἔξω τῶν κωμῶν, ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὃ τι 35 τις ὁρώῃ ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος. Καὶ ἐξαίφνης ὁρῶσι τοὺς 30

πολεμίους ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λόφους τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τεταγμένους ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, ἱππείας τε πολλοῦς καὶ πεζοὺς· καὶ γὰρ Σπιθριδάτης καὶ Ῥυθίνης ἦγον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ἔχοντες τὴν δύναμιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατείδον τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οἱ πολέμιοι, ἔστησαν ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους. Ἐκ τούτου εὐθὺς Ἀρηξίων, ὁ μάντις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, σφαγιάζεται, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου καλὰ τὰ σφάγια. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· “Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, ἐπιτάξασθαι τῇ φάλαγγι λόχους φύλακας, ἵνα, ἢν που δέη, ὥσιν οἱ ἐπιβοηθήσοντες τῇ φάλαγγι, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τεταραγμένοι ἐμπίπτωσιν εἰς τεταγμένους καὶ ἀπεραίους.” Συνεδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσιν. “Τμείς μὲν τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “προηγείσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὡς μὴ ἐστίκωμεν, ἐπεὶ ὥφθημεν καὶ εἶδομεν τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐγὼ δὲ ἤξω, τοὺς τελευταίους λόχους καταχωρίσας, ἥπερ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ.”

Ἐξ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἦσυχον προῆγον· ὁ δὲ, τρεῖς ἀφελὼν τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις, ἀνὰ διακοσίους ἄνδρας, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐφέπεσθαι, ἀπολιπόντας ὡς πλεῖστον· Σαμόλας Ἀχαιοὺς ταύτης ἤρχε τῆς τάξεως· τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ ἐχοίρισεν ἔπεισθαι· Πυρρόλας Ἀρκὰς ταύτης ἤρχε· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκωνόμῳ· Φρασίας Ἀθηναῖος ταύτῃ ἐφειστήκει. Προϊόντες δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐπὶ νάπει μεγάλῃ καὶ δυσπόρῳ, ἔστησαν, ἀγνοοῦντες, εἰ διαβατέον εἴη τὸ νάπος, καὶ παρεγγυῶσι στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς παριέναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, θαυμάσας, ὅτι τὸ ἔχον εἴη τὴν πορείαν, καὶ τάχα ἀκούων τὴν παρεγγυήν, ἐλαύνει ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει Σοφαίνετος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι βουλῆς οὐκ ἄξιον εἴη, εἰ διαβατέον ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον ὃν τὸ νάπος.

Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν σπουδῇ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν· “Ἄλλ' ἴσται μὲν με, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδένα πω κίνδυνον προξενήσαντα ὑμῖν ἐθιλούσιον· οὐ γὰρ δόξης ὀφῶ δεομένους ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀνδρείο-

τητα, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας. Νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἔχει· ἀμαχεὶ μὲν ἐν-
 θένδε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπελθεῖν· ἤν γὰρ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 πολεμίους, οὗτοι ἡμῖν, ὅταν ἀπίωμεν, ἐφονται καὶ ἐπιπε-
 δῶνται. Ὁρᾶτε δὴ, πότερον κρεῖττον ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄν-
 δρας, προβαλλομένους τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ μεταβαλλομένους, ὅπι- 8
 σθεν ἡμῶν ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους θεάσασθαι. Ἰστα γε
 μέντοι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀπίεναι ἀπὸ πολέμιων οὐδενὶ καλῶ ἔοικε·
 τὸ δὲ ἐφίπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς κακίους θάρσος ἐμποιεῖ. Ἐγώ
 γε οὖν ἥδιον ἂν σὺν ἡμίσεσιν ἐποίμην, ἢ σὺν διπλασίοις ἀπο-
 χωροίην. Καὶ τούτους οἶδ' ὅτι, ἐπιόντων μὲν ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ὑμεῖς 10
 ἐπιίξετε διέσασθαι ἡμᾶς· ἀπιόντων δέ, πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα,
 ὅτι τολμήσουσιν ἐφίπεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ διαβάντας ὕπισθεν νάπος
 χαλεπὸν ποιήσασθαι, μέλλοντας μάχεσθαι, ἅρ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἀρ-
 πᾶσαι ἄξιον; Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολέμοις ἔγωγε βουλοίμην ἂν
 εὐπορα πάντα φαίνεσθαι, ὥστε ἀποχωρεῖν· ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ 15
 ὑπὸ τοῦ χωρίου δεῖ διδάσκεισθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μὴ νικῶσι
 σωτηρία. Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τὸ νάπος τοῦτο εἶ τις
 μᾶλλον φοβερὸν νομίζει εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν διαπεπορεύ-
 μεθα χωρίων. Πῶς μὲν γὰρ διαβατὸν τὸ πεδίον, εἰ μὴ
 νικήσομεν τοὺς ἵππους; πῶς δὲ ἂ διελγλύθαμεν ὄρη, ἣν 20
 πελτασταὶ τοσοῦδε ἐφίπωνται; Ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ
 θάλατταν, πόσον τι νάπος ὁ Πόντος; ἔνθα οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστι
 τὰ ἀπάζοντα, οὔτε σῖτος, ὧς θρεφόμεθα μένοντες· δεήσει
 δέ, ἣν θᾶπτον ἐκὶ γινώμεθα, θᾶπτον ἐξιέναι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια. Οὐκοῦν νῦν κρεῖττον ἡριστηκότας μάχεσθαι, ἢ 25
 αἵριον ἀναρίστους. Ἄνδρες, τά τε ἱερὰ ἡμῖν καλὰ, οἳ τε οἰ-
 ωνοὶ αἰετοὶ, τά τε σφάγια κάλλιστα. Ἰωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄν-
 δρας. Οὐ δέῃ ἔτι τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας εἶδον, ἡδέως
 δειπνῆσαι, οὐδ' ὅπου ἂν ἐθέλωσι σκητῆσαι."

Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀν- 30
 τέλεγε. Καὶ ὃς ἡγεῖτο, παραγγέλλας διαβαίνειν, ἢ ἑαυτοὺς
 ἐτύγχανε τοῦ νάπου ὧν· θᾶπτον γὰρ ἂν ἀθρόον εἶδομεν
 οὕτω πέραν γενέσθαι τὸ στράτευμα, ἢ εἰ κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν,

ἣ ἐπὶ τῷ νάπει ἦν, ἐξεμηρύνοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, παρι-
 ὦν παρὰ τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔλεγεν· “Ἄνδρες, ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε,
 ὅσας δὴ μάχας σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμόσε ἰόντες νενικήκατε, καὶ
 οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ πολεμίους φεύγοντες· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐννοήσατε,
 ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσμέν. Ἄλλ' ἔπεισθε Ἡγε-
 μόνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀλλήλους παρακαλεῖτε ὀνομαστί
 Ἡδύ τοι, ἀνδρεῖον καὶ καλὸν νῦν εἰπόντα καὶ ποιήσαντα,
 μνήμην, ἐν οἷς ἐθέλει, παρέχειν ἑαυτοῦ.”

Ταῦτα παρελάνων ἔλεγε, καὶ ἅμα ὑψηγεῖτο ἐπὶ φάλαγ-
 10 γος, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ποιησάμενοι ἐπορεύ-
 οντο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Παρηγγέλλετο δὲ τὰ μὲν δόρατα
 ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον ἔχειν, ἕως σημαῖνοι τῇ σάλπιγγι· ἔπει-
 τα δὲ εἰς προβολὴν καθέντας ἔπεισθαι βῆδην, καὶ μηδὲνα
 δρόμῳ διώκειν. Ἐκ τούτου σύνθημα παρήει, ΖΕΤΣ ΣΩ-
 15 ΤΗΡ, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ. Οἱ δὲ πολέμοιοι ὑπέμε-
 νον, νομίζοντες, καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπλησία-
 ζον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες πελτασταὶ ἔθειον ἐπὶ τοὺς πο-
 λεμίους, πρὶν τινα κελεύειν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοιοι ἀντίοι ἄρμησαν,
 οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ τὸ στίφος τῶν Βιθυνῶν· καὶ τρέπονται
 20 τοὺς πελταστὰς. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑπηντίαζεν ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν ὀπλι-
 τῶν ταχὺ πορευομένη, καὶ ἅμα ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ
 ἐπαιάνιζον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἠλάλαζον, καὶ ἅμα τὰ δόρατα
 καθέσαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμοιοι, ἀλλ' ἔφευ-
 γον. Καὶ Τιμασίῳ μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἱππείας ἐφείπετο, καὶ
 25 ἀπεκτιννυσαν, ὅσους περ ἐδύναντο, ὥς ὀλίγοι ὄντες. Τῶν
 δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εὐθὺς διεσπάρη, καθ' ὃ οἱ
 Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς ἦσαν· τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, αἷτε οὐ σφόδρα διωκό-
 μενον, ἐπὶ λόφου συνέστη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπο-
 μένοντας αὐτούς, ἰδοκεὶ ῥᾶστόν τε καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον εἶναι,
 30 εἶναι ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτούς. Παιανίσαντες οὖν, εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο·
 οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδίωκον,
 μέχρι τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτὸν διεσπάρη· ἀπέθανον δ' ὀλίγοι· τὸ γὰρ
 ἱππικὸν φόβον παρῆχε, τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, πολὺ ὄν. Ἐπει

δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ τε Φαρναβάζου ἱππικὸν ἔτι συνεστη-
 κός, καὶ τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἱππίας πρὸς τούτους συναθροίζο-
 μένους, καὶ ἀπὸ λόφου τινὸς καταθιωμένους τὰ γιγνόμενα,
 ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν, ὅμως δ' ἐδόκει καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἱεῖον εἶναι
 οὕτως, ὅπως δύναιντο, ὥς μὴ τεθαρσύνκοιτες ἀναπαύσαιντο. 5
 Συνταξάμενοι δὲ πυρεύονται. Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἱππεῖς
 φεύγουσι κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς, ὁμοίως ὥςπερ ὑπὸ ἱππίων διω-
 κόμενοι· νῆπιος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεσαν οἱ
 Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ προαπειτράποντο διώκοντες· ὁψέ γὰρ ἦν.
 Ἐπανελθόντες δέ, ἔνθα [δὴ] ἡ πρώτη συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, 10
 στησάμενοι τρώπαιον, ἀπῆσαν ἐπὶ θάλαττιαν περὶ ἡλίου
 δυσμᾶς· στάδιοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὥς ἐξήκοντα ἐπὶ τὸ στρατό-
 πεδον.

Κεφάλαιον 5'.

Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι εἶχον ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ
 ἀπῆγοντο καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅποι ἐδύναντο 15
 προσωτάτω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες προσέμενον μὲν Κλείανδρον, καὶ
 τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ὥς ἦξοντα· ἐξιόντες δὲ ἐκάστης
 ἡμέρας σὺν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις, ἐφέροντο
 ἀδεῶς ἡδὴ πυρρὸς, κριθάς, οἶνον, ὄσπρια, μελίνας, σῦκα·
 ἅπαντα γὰρ [ἀγαθὰ] εἶχεν ἡ χώρα, πλὴν ἐλαίου. Καὶ 20
 ὁπότε μὲν καταμῖνοι τὸ στρατεύμα ἀναπαυόμενον, ἐξῆν ἐπὶ
 λείαν εἶναι· καὶ ἐλάμβανον οἱ ἐξιόντες· ὁπότε δ' ἐξίλοι πᾶν
 τὸ στρατεύμα, εἴ τις χωρὶς ἀπελθὼν λάβοι τι, δημόσιον ἔδο-
 ξεν εἶναι. Ἦδη δὲ ἦν [πολλὴ] πάντων ἀφθονία· καὶ γὰρ
 ἀγοραὶ πάντοθεν ἀφικνούντο ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, καὶ 25
 οἱ παραπλίοινοι ἄσμεοι κατήγον, ἀκούοντες, ὥς οἰκίζοιτο
 πόλις, καὶ λιμὴν εἶη. Ἐπεμπον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι [ἤδη],
 οἱ πλησίον ὦκον, πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἀκούοντες, ὅτι οὗτος
 κολίζει τὸ χωρίον, ἐρωτῶντες, ὃ τι δίοι ποιοῦντας φίλους

εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐπεδείκνυνεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις. Κὰν
 τοῦτῃ Κλέανδρος ἀφικνεῖται, δύο τριήρεις ἔχων, πλοῖον
 δ' οὐδέν. Ἐτύγχανεν δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἔξω ὄν, ὅτε ἀφίκετο,
 καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι, ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εἰλή-
 5 φεισαν πρόβυτα πολλά· ὀκνοῦντες δέ, μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆεν, τῷ
 Δεξιππῷ λέγουσιν (ὅς ἀπέδρα τὴν πεντηκόντορον ἔχων ἐκ
 Τραπεζοῦντος), καὶ κελεύουσι διασώσαντα τὰ πρόβυτα, τὰ
 μὲν αὐτὸν λιβεῖν, τὰ δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι.

Εὐθύς δ' ἐκείνος ἀπελαύνει τοὺς περιστῶτας τῶν στρα-
 10 τιωτῶν, καὶ λέγοντας, ὅτι δημόσια ταῦτ' εἴη, καὶ τῷ Κλεάν-
 δρῳ [εὐθύς] ἔλθων λέγει, ὅτι ἀρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Ὁ δὲ
 κελεύει τὸν ἀρπάζοντα ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν
 ἄγει τινά· περιτυχὼν δ' Ἀγασίας ἀφαιρεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἦν
 αὐτῷ ὁ ἀγόμενος λοχίτης. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες τῶν
 15 στρατιωτῶν ἐπιχειροῦσι βάλλειν τὸν Δεξιππον, ἀνακαλοῦντες
 τὸν προδότην. Ἔδρισαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριηριτῶν πολλοί, καὶ
 ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν· καὶ Κλέανδρος δ' ἔφευγε.
 Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατεκώλυνόν τε, καὶ τῷ
 Κλεάνδρῳ ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴη πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα εἴη
 20 αἴτιον, τὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, ταῦτα γενέσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Κλέ-
 ανδρος, ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεξιππου τε ἀνερθετιζόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἀχθεσθεὶς, ὅτι ἐφοβήθη, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι ἔρη καὶ κηρύξειν,
 μηδεμίαν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, ὥς πολεμίους. Ἦρχον δὲ
 τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

25 Ἐνταῦθα πονηρὸν ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα [ἐκείνο] εἶναι τοῖς
 Ἕλλησι, καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. Ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως
 ἔφη γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκδώσει τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν καὶ
 τὸν ἀφελόμενον. Ἦν δέ, ὃν ἐζητεῖ, Ἀγασίας, διὰ τέλους
 φίλος τῷ Ξενοφῶντι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ὁ Δεξιππος.
 30 Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπορία ἦν, συνήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα
 οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ἔνιοι μὲν αὐτῶν παρ' ὀλίγον ἐπαιοῦντο
 τὸν Κλέανδρον· τῷ δὲ Ξενοφῶντι οὐκ ἐδόκει φαῦλον εἶναι
 τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν·

“Ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιώται, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ φαῦλον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πρῶγμα, εἰ ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχων τὴν γνώμην Κλεάνδρος ἄπεισιν, ὥς περ λέγει. Εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη ἐγγὺς αἱ Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις· τῆς δ' Ἑλλάδος Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεστίγκασιν· ἱκανοὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὅ τι βούλονται, διαπράττεσθαι. Εἰ οὖν οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς Βυζαντίου ἀποκλείσει, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρμостаῖς παραγγελεῖ, εἰς τὰς πόλεις μὴ δέχεσθαι, ὥς ἀπостоῦντας Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἀνόμους ὄντας, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον ἑνὸς ὁ λόγος περὶ ἡμῶν ἦξει· χαλεπόν ἔσται καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀποπλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἄρχουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τὸν νῦν χρόνον. Οὐκ οὖν δεῖ οὔτε ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἕνεκα οὔτε δυοῖν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειστέον, ὅ τι ἂν κελεύωσι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἡμῶν, ὅθεν ἐσμέν, πείθονται τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν (καὶ γὰρ ἀκούω, Δεξιππον λέγειν πρὸς Κλεάνδρον, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησαν Ἀγασίας ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσα), ἐγὼ οὖν ἀπολύω καὶ ὑμᾶς τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ Ἀγασίαν, ἃν αὐτὸς Ἀγασίας φήσῃ, ἐμὲ τινος τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι, καὶ καταδικάζω ἑμαυτοῦ, εἰ ἐγὼ πετροβολίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς βιαίου ἐξάρχω, τῆς ἐσχάτης δίκης ἄξιος εἶναι, καὶ ὑφέξω τὴν δίκην. Φημὶ δέ, καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον αἰτιᾶται, ἑαυτὸν χρῆναι παρασχεῖν Κλεάνδρῳ κρῖναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀπολειυμένοι τῆς αἰτίας εἴητε. Ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχει, χαλεπόν, εἰ, οἰόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων μὴδ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰρξόμεθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων.”

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ἀγασίας εἶπεν· “Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμνυμι θεοὺς καὶ θεάς, ἣ μὴν μήτε ἐμὲ Ξενοφῶντα κελεύσαι ἀφελίσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, μήτε ὑμῶν ἄλλον μηδένα· ἰδόντι δὲ μοι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀγόμενον τῶν ἐμῶν λοχιτῶν ὑπὸ Δεξιππου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὑμᾶς προδόντα, δεινὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι· καὶ ἀφειλόμην, ὁμολογῶ. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν μὴ ἐκδωτέ

με· ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, παρασχίσω κρί-
ναντι Κλεάνδρῳ, ὃ τι ἂν βούληται ποιῆσαι· τούτου ἕνεκα
μήτε πολεμίετε Λακεδαιμονίοις, σώζοισθέ τε ἀσφαλῶς, ὅπη
θέλει ἕκαστος. Συμπέμψατε μέντοι μοι ἱμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλό-
6 μενοι πρὸς Κλεάνδρον, οἵτινες, ἂν τι ἐγὼ παραλείπω, καὶ
λέξουσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ πράξουσιν.” Ἐκ τούτου ἔδωκεν ἡ
στρατιὰ, οὔστινας βούλοιτο προελόμενον ἵεναι. Ὁ δὲ προ-
εἴλετο τοὺς στρατηγούς. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς
Κλεάνδρον Ἀγασίας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς
10 ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου· καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατηγοί·

“Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς σέ, ὦ Κλέανδρε· καὶ
κελεύουσί σε, εἴτε πάντας αἰτιᾶ, κρίναντα σεαυτὸν χρῆσθαι,
ὃ τι ἂν βούλῃ· εἴτε ἕνα τινά, ἢ δύο, ἢ καὶ πλείους αἰτιᾶ,
τούτους ἀξιούσι παρασχεῖν σοι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κρίσιν. Εἴτε οὖν
15 ἡμῶν τινὰ αἰτιᾶ, πάρεσμέν σοι ἡμεῖς· εἴτε δὲ ἄλλον τινά
[αἰτιᾶ], φράσον· οὐδεὶς γάρ [σοι] ἀπέυται, ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν
ἐθέλῃ πείθεσθαι.” Μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀγασίας εἶ-
πεν· “Ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὦ Κλέανδρε, ὁ ἀφειλόμενος Δέξιππου
ἄγοντος τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ παῖειν κελεύσας Δέξιππον.
20 Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα· Δέξιππον δὲ
αἰρεθέντα οἶδα ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν τῆς πενηκοντόρου,
ἣς ἡγησάμεθα παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων, ἐφ' ᾧ τε πλοῦτα συλλέ-
γειν, ὥς σωζόμεθα· καὶ ἀποδράντα Δέξιππον, καὶ προ-
δόντα τοὺς στρατιώτας, μεθ' ὧν ἐσώθη. Καὶ τοὺς τε Τρα-
25 πεζουντίους ἀπίστευρήκαμεν τὴν πενηκόντορον, καὶ κακοῖ
δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτον· αὐτοὶ τε, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἀπο-
λώλαμεν [πάντες]. Ἦκουε γάρ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ὥς ἀπορον
εἶη, περὶ ἀπιόντας τοὺς ποταμούς τε διαβῆναι, καὶ σωθῆναι
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Τοῦτον οὖν τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἀφειλόμην.
30 Εἰ δὲ σὺ ἡγεῖς, ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ μὴ τῶν παρ'
ἡμῶν ἀποδράντων, εὖ ἴσθι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων ἐποίησα.
Νόμιζες δέ, ἂν ἐμὲ νῦν ἀποκτείνῃς, δι' ἄνδρα δειλὸν τε καὶ
πονηρὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποκτενῶν.”

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν, “ὅτι Δέξιππος μὲν οὐκ ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ταῦτα πεποιηκώς εἴη· εὐ μέντοι εἶφη νομίζειν, οὐδ’ εἰ παμπιόνηρος ἦν Δέξιππος, βίαν χρεῖναι πάσχειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κριθέντα ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῖς νῦν ἀξιοῦτε, τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν. Νῦν μὲν οὖν ἄπιτε, καταλιπόντες τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα· ὅταν δ’ ἐγὼ κελεύσω, πάρεστε πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν. Αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὔτε τὴν στρατιάν, οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα· ἐπεὶ γε οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἀφελῆσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα.” Ὁ δ’ ἀφαιρεθείς εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ, ὦ Κλέανδρε, εἰ καὶ εἴθε με ἀδικούντά τι ἄγασθαι, οὐτ’ ἐπαιον οὐδένα, οὐτ’ ἐβαλлон, ἀλλ’ εἶπον, ὅτι δημόσια εἴη τὰ πρόβατα· ἦν γὰρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δόγμα, εἴ τις, ὅποτε ἡ στρατιὰ ἐξίλοι, ἰδίᾳ ληΐζοιτο, δημόσια εἶναι τὰ ληφθέντα. Ταῦτ’ εἶπον· καὶ ἐκ τούτου με λαβὼν οὗτος ἤγειν, ἵνα μὴ ῥηθῇγοιτο μηδεὶς, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ μέρος, διασώσκει τοῖς λησταῖς παρὰ τὴν ῥήτραν τὰ χρήματα.” 15

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τιοῖτος εἶ, κατὰμνε, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ βουλευσόμεθα.”

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον ἡρίστων· τὴν δὲ στρατιάν συνῆγε Ξενοφῶν, καὶ συνεβούλευε, πέμψαι ἄνδρας πρὸς Κλέανδρον, παραιτησομένους περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Ἐκ 20 τοῦτου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, πέμψαντας στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς καὶ Δρακόντιον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἐδόχουν ἐπιτιγῆναι εἶναι, δεῖσθαι Κλεάνδρου κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, ἀφείναι τὸν ἄνδρα. Ἐλθὼν οὖν Ξενοφῶν λέγει· “Ἐχεις μὲν, ὦ Κλέανδρε, τοὺς ἄνδρας· καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ σοὶ ὑφείτο, 25 ὅ τι ἐβούλου ποιῆσαι καὶ περὶ τούτων, καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἀπάντων. Νῦν δὲ σε αἰτοῦνται καὶ δεόνται δοῦναι σφίσι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ μὴ κατακαίνειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἔμπερσθαι χρόνῳ περὶ τὴν στρατιάν ἐμοχθησάτην. Ταῦτα δὲ σου τυχόντες, ὑπισχνοῦνται σοὶ ἀντὶ τούτων, εἴαν βούλῃ ἡγεῖσθαι 30 αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴαν οἱ θεοὶ ἴλεω ᾤσιν, ἐπιδείξιν σοι, καὶ ὡς κόσμοί εἰσι, καὶ ὡς ἱκανοί, τῷ ἄρχοντι πειθόμενοι, τοὺς παλεμίους ἀνὰ τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθαι. Δέονται δὲ σου καὶ

τοῦτο, παραγεγόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα ἑαυτῶν πείραν λαβεῖν καὶ Δεξιππου καὶ σφῶν [καὶ] τῶν ἄλλων, οἷος ἑκαστός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ἑκάστοις νείμαι." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος, "Ἀλλὰ ναὶ [μὰ] τῷ Σιώ," ἔφη, "ταχύ τοι ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. Καὶ τῷ τε ἄνδρι ὑμῖν δίδωμι, καὶ αὐτὸς παρέσουςι· καὶ ἂν οἱ θεοὶ παραδιδῶσι [τι], ἐξηγήσομαι εἰς τὴν ἰσχυρίαν." Καὶ πολὺ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἀντίοι εἰσὶν ἢ οὓς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐνίων ἤκουον, ὥς τὸ στρατεύμα ἀφίσταται ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων."

10 Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ἔχοντες τῷ ἄνδρι· Κλέανδρος δὲ ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ συνῆν Δενοφῶντι φιλικῶς, καὶ ξενίαν συνεβάλλοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἴρα αὐτοὺς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εὐτάκτως ποιῶντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐπεθύμει ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι θυο-
15 μένω αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς εἶπεν· "Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐθίλει γενέσθαι τὰ ἱερά ἐξάγειν· ὑμεῖς μέντοι μὴ ἀθυμεῖτε τούτου ἕνεκα· ὑμῖν μὲν γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, δέδοται ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκῆιτε
20 ἤκητε, δεξόμεθα, ὥς ἂν δυνώμεθα κάλλιστα."

Ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις, δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ δημόσια πρόβατα. Ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος, πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπέπλει. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, διαθήμενοι τὸν σῆτον, ὃν ἦσαν συγκεκομισμένοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ἃ εἰλήφεσαν,
25 ἐξεπορεύοντο διὰ τῶν Βιθυτῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνέτυχον πορευόμενοι τὴν ὁρθὴν ὁδόν, ὥς τ' ἔχοντές τι εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, τοῦμπαλιν ὑποστρέψαντας ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἔλαβον πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ πρόβατα· καὶ ἀφίκοντο ἐκταῖοι εἰς Χρυσόπολιν τῆς Χαλκηδονίας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ λαφυροπωλοῦντες.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ἙΒΔΟΜΟΝ.

Κεφάλαιον α'.

ὍΣΑ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ, μέχρις εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου περὶ ἑξιόντες καὶ πλείοντες ἐποίουν, μέχρις ἔξω τοῦ στόματος ἐγένοντο ἐν Χρυσοπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, [πάντα] ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Φαρνάβαζος, φοβούμενος τὸ στράτευμα, μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν στρατεύηται, πέμψας πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον (ὃ δὲ ἔτυχεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὢν), ἐδεῖτο, διαβίβασαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, πάντα ποιήσιν αὐτῷ, ὅσα θέοι. Καὶ Ἀναξίβιος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ διαβαῖεν, μισθοφορὰν ἔσσεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἔφασαν βουλευσάμενοι ἀπαγγεῖν· Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἀπαλλάξοιτο ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ βούλοιτο ἀποπλεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκίλευσεν αὐτὸν συνδιαβάντα, ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Ἐφ' οὗν ταῦτα ποιήσιν.

Σεύθης δὲ ὁ Θορᾶς πέμπει Μηδοσάδην, καὶ κελύει Ξενοφῶντα συμπροθυμεῖσθαι, ὅπως διαβῇ τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ 20

ἔφη αὐτῷ ταῦτα συμποθυμηθέντι· οὐδ' μεταμελήσει.
 "Ὁ δ'" εἶπεν· "Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν στρατεύμα διαβήσεται· τοῦ-
 του ἔνεκα μηδὲν τελείτω μήτε ἐμοί, μήτε ἄλλῳ μηδενί· ἐπι-
 δύν δὲ διαβῇ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπαλλάξομαι· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς διαμέ-
 νοντις καὶ ἐπικαιροῦς ὄντας προσφερείσθω, εἰς ἃν αὐτῷ
 δοκῇ ἀσφαλές."

Ἐκ τούτου διαβαίνουσι πάντες εἰς Βυζάντιον οἱ στρατιώ-
 ται· καὶ μισθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος· ἐκήρυξε δὲ,
 λαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξίεναι, ὡς
 ἀποπίμψων τε ἅμα καὶ ἀριθμὸν ποιήσων. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ
 10 στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον ἀργύριον ἐπισιτίζεσθαι
 εἰς τὴν πορείαν, καὶ ὀκνηρῶς συνεσκευάζοντο.

Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, Κλεάνθῳ τῷ ἄρμωστῇ ξένος γεγεννημέ-
 νος, προσελθὼν ἠσπάζετο αὐτόν, ὡς ἀποκλειυσόμενος ἦδη.
 15 "Ὁ δ'" αὐτῷ λέγει· "Μὴ ποιήσῃς ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μή," ἔφη,
 "αἰτίαν ἔξεις· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν τινες ἦδη σὲ αἰτιῶνται, ὅτι οὐ
 ταχὺ ἐξέρπει τὸ στρατεύμα." Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· "Ἀλλ' αἴτιος
 μὲν ἔγωγ' οὐκ εἰμὶ τούτου, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοί, ἐπισι-
 τισμοῦ δεόμενοι, [καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες,] διὰ τοῦτο ἀθιμώσουσι
 20 πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον." "Ἀλλ' ὅμως," ἔφη, "ἐγὼ σοι συμβουλεύω,
 ἐξελθεῖν μὲν ὡς πορευσόμενον· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔξω γένηται τὸ
 στρατεύμα, τότε ἀπαλλάττεσθαι." "Ταῦτα τοῖνυν," ἔφη
 ὁ Ξενοφῶν, "ἐλθόντες πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον διαπραξόμεθα."
 Οὕτως ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. Ὁ δ' ἐκέλευσεν οὕτω ποιεῖν,
 25 καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἐξίεναι συνεσκευασμένους, καὶ προσανει-
 πεῖν, ὅς ἂν μὴ παρῇ εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν,
 ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται. Ἐνταῦθεν ἐξήσαν οἱ τε στρα-
 τηγοὶ πρῶτοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. Καὶ ἄρδην πάντες πλὴν ὀλί-
 γων ἔξω ἦσαν, καὶ Ἐτεόνικος εἰστήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας, ὡς,
 30 ὁπόταν ἔξω γένωνται πάντες, ἀποκλείσων τὰς πύλας, καὶ τὸν
 μοχλὸν ἐμβυλῶν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος, συγκαλίσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς
 λοχαγούς, ἔλεγε· "Τὸ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια," ἔφη, "λαμβάνετε ἐκ

τῶν Θρακίων κωμῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι πολλαὶ κριθαὶ καὶ πυροί, καὶ ἅλλα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· λαβόντες δὲ πορεύεσθε εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον, ἐκεῖ δὲ Κυνίσκος ὑμῖν μισθοδοτήσει.” Ἐπακούσαντες δὲ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῦτα, ἣ καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν τις, διαγγίλλει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο περὶ τοῦ Σεύθου, πότερα πολέμιος εἴη ἢ φίλος, καὶ πότερα διὰ τοῦ ἱερῶν ὄρους δίοι πορεύεσθαι, ἢ κύκλῳ διὰ μέσης τῆς Θράκης.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα διελέγοντο, οἱ στρατιῶται ἀναρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα θέουσι δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ὥς πάλιν εἰς τὸ τείχος εἰσιόντες. Ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ὥς εἶδον προσθέοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, συγκλείουσι τὰς πύλας, καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἔκοπτον τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἀδικώτατα πάσχοιεν ἐκβαλλόμενοι εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ κατασχίσαι τὰς πύλας ἔφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἑκόντες ἀνοίξουσιν. Ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῶν ἔδεον παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τοῦ τείχους ὑπερβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἄλλοι δ', οἱ ἐτύγγανον ἔνθον ὄντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥς ὀφθαῖς τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις πράγματα, διακόψαντες ταῖς ἄξιναις τὰ κλεῖθρα, ἀναπαταννύουσι τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' εἰσπίπτουσιν.

Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ὥς εἶδε τὰ γινόμενα, δεισας, μὴ ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τράποιτο τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ γένοιτο τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔθει, καὶ συνεισπίπτει εἰσω τῶν πυλῶν σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ. Οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι, ὥς εἶδον τὸ στράτευμα βίᾳ εἰσπίπτον, φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, οἱ δὲ οἴκαδε· ὅσοι δ' ἔνθον ἐτύγγανον ὄντες, ἔξω· οἱ δὲ καθεῖλκον τὰς τριήρεις, ὥς ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι σῶζοντο· πάντες δὲ ᾤοντο ἀπολωλέναι, ὥς ἐαλωκυίας τῆς πόλεως. Ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἀποφεύγει. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος, καταδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλειυτικῶς πλοῖω περιέπλει εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται ἐκ Χαλκηδόνος φρουρούς· οὗ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει σχεῖν τοὺς ἥνδρης.

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, προσπίπτουσιν αὐτῷ πολλοί, καὶ λέγουσι· “Νῦν σοι ἔξεστιν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι. ἔχεις πόλιν, ἔχεις τριήρεις, ἔχεις χρήματα, ἔχεις ἄνδρας τοσούτους. Νῦν ἂν, εἰ βοῦ-
 5 λαιο, σύ τε [καὶ] ἡμᾶς ὀνήσαιο, καὶ ἡμεῖς σὲ μέγαν ποιήσαιμεν.” Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· “Ἄλλ’ εὐ τε λέγετε, καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἐπιθυμεῖτε, θίεσθε τὰ ὄπλα ἐν τάξει ὡς τάχιστα.” βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς κατηρεμῆσαι· καὶ αὐτὸς τε παρηγγύα ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευσε παρεγ-
 10 γνᾶν, καὶ τίθεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα. Οἱ δέ, αὐτοὶ ὑφ’ ἑαυτῶν ταττόμενοι, οἱ τε ὀπλῆται ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ εἰς ὅκτῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκάτερον παραδεδραμήκεσαν. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἷον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαι ἔστι, τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδινόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔκειτο τὰ
 15 ὄπλα, καὶ κατηρεμίσθησαν, συγκαλεῖ Ξενοφῶν τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ λέγει τάδε·

“Ὅτι μὲν ὀργίξεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ νομίζετε δεινὰ πάσχειν ἐξαπατῶμενοι, οὐ θαυμάζω. Ἐὰν δὲ τῷ θυμῷ χαριζώμεθα, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς παρόντας
 20 τῆς ἐξαπάτης τιμωρησώμεθα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν οὐδὲν αἰτίαν διαρπάσωμεν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ἃ ἔσται ἐντεῦθεν. Πολέμιοι μὲν ἐσόμεθα ἀποδεδειγμένοι Λακεδαιμονίοις τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις· οἷος δ’ ὁ πόλεμος ἂν γένοιτο, εἰκάζειν δὴ πάρεστιν, ἑωρακότας καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας
 25 τὰ νῦν δὴ γεγενημένα. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἔχοντες τριήρεις, τὰς μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ, τὰς δ’ ἐν τοῖς νεωροῖς, οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ προσόδου οὐσης
 30 καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδήμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας, οὐ μείον χιλίων ταλάντων· ἄρχοντές τε τῶν νήσων ἀπασῶν, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις πολλὰς ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ Βυζάντιον, ὅπου νῦν

ισμέν, ἔχοντες, κατεπολεμήθημεν οὕτως, ὥς πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐπίστασθαι. Νῦν δὲ δὴ τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμμάχων ὑπαρχόντων, Ἀθηναίων δέ, καὶ ὅσοι ἐκείροις τότε ἦσαν σύμμαχοι, πάντων προσγενημένων, Τισσαφέρνης δέ, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄλλων βυρβύρων πάντων πολεμίων ἡμῖν ὄντων, πολεμιωτάτου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ὃν ἤλθομεν ὑφαιρησόμενοι τε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ θιναιόμεθα; Τούτων δὲ πάντων ὁμοῦ ὄντων, ἔστι τις οὕτως ἄφρων, ὅστις οὔτεται ἂν ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι; Μή, πρὸς θεῶν, μαινώμεθα, μηδὲ αἰσχροῦς ἀπολοίμεθα, πολέμιοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς πατράσι, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀντῶν φίλοις τε καὶ οἰκείοις. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ' ὅλους πάντες, ταῖς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατευσομένοις καὶ δικαίως· εἰ βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἡδεῖσάμεν κατασχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα κρατοῦντες· Ἕλλησιν δέ, εἰς 15 ἣν πρῶτον ἤλθομεν πόλιν, ταύτην ἐξαλαπάξομεν. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν εὐχομαι, πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιθεῖν ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγόμενα, μυθίας ἐμὲ γε κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀργισθῆναι γενέσθαι. Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ συμβουλεύω, Ἕλληνας ὄντας, τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστηκόσι πειθομένους πειρᾶσθαι τῶν δικαίων τευχάνειν. Ἐάν 20 δὲ μὴ θύνησθε ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀδικουμένους τῆς γούρ· Ἕλληδος μὴ στείρεσθαι. Καὶ νῦν μοι δοκεῖ, πέμπσαντας Ἀναξίβιφ εἰπεῖν, 'ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν βέλιον ποιήσαντες παρεληλυθαμεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἣν μὲν δυνοίμεθα παρ' ἡμῶν ἀγαθόν τι εὐρέσκεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ δηλώσομεντες ὑμῖν, ὅτι 25 οὐκ ἐξαπατάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι ἐξερχόμεθα.'

Ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ πέμπουσιν ἱερώνυμόν τε Ἰλιεῖον, ἐρουντα ταῦτα, καὶ Εὐρύλοχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ Φιλήσιον Ἀχαιόν. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὥχοντο ἐρουντες.

Ἐτι δὲ καθημένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, προσέρχεται Κοιρατάδης Θηβαῖος, ὃς οὐ φεύγων τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιγίει, ἀλλὰ στρατηγιῶν, καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, εἴ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος στρατηγῶν δέοιτο· καὶ τότε προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἔτοιμος

εἶη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Δεῖλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θράκης, ἔνθα πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ λήφουσιν· ἔστε δ' ἂν μόλωσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν παρέξουσιν ἔφη καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ.

Ἀκούουσι ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἀναξίβιου
 6 ἅμα ἀπαγγελλόμενα· ἀπεκρίνατο γάρ, ὅτι πειθομένοις αὐ-
 τοῖς οὐ μεταμελήσει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε οἴκοι τέλεισι ταῦτα ἀπαγ-
 γελεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς βουλευέσσοιτο περὶ αὐτῶν, ὃ τι δύναιτο ἀγα-
 θόν. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν τε Κοιρατιάδην δέχον-
 10 ται στρατηγόν, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆλθον. Ὁ δὲ Κοι-
 ρατιάδης συντίθεται αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρέσεσθαι
 ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, ἔχων καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ μάντιν, καὶ σῖτα καὶ
 ποτὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθον, ὁ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκλείσσε
 τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἐκήρυξεν, ὅτι, ὅστις ἂν ἀλῶ ἔνδον ὧν τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν, πεπράσεται. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κοιρατιάδης
 15 μὲν ἔχων τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὸν μάντιν ἦκε, καὶ ἄλφιστα φέροντες
 εἶποντο αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοι οἶνον εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες,
 καὶ ἐλαιῶν τρεῖς, καὶ σκορόδων εἰς ἀνὴρ ὅσον ἐδύνατο μέ-
 γιστον φορτίον, καὶ ἄλλος χρομύων. Ταῦτα δὲ καταθέμε-
 νος ὡς ἐπὶ δάσμευσιν, ἐθύετο.

20 Ξενοφῶν δέ, μεταπεμφόμενος Κλέανδρον, ἐκέλευε οἱ δια-
 πρᾶξαι, ὅπως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τε εἰσελθῶι, καὶ ἀποπλεύσαι ἐκ
 Βυζαντίου. Ἐλθὼν δὲ Κλέανδρος, “Μάλα μόλις,” ἔφη,
 “διαπραξάμενος ἦκα· λέγειν γὰρ Ἀναξίβιον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτή-
 25 δειον εἶη, τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ τείχους,
 Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔνδον· τοὺς Βυζαντίους δὲ στασιάζειν καὶ πο-
 νηροὺς εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὁμως δὲ εἰσιέναι,” ἔφη, “ἐκέ-
 λευσεν, εἰ μέλλοι σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἐκπεῖν.” Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοφῶν,
 ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἰσὼ τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆι σὺν
 Κλεάνδρῳ. Ὁ δὲ Κοιρατιάδης τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ
 30 ἐκαλλιέρει, οὐδὲ διεμέτρησεν οὐδὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις· τῇ
 δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα εἰστήκει παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, καὶ
 Κοιρατιάδης ἐστεφανωμένος, ὡς θύσων· πρὸς εἰλῶν δὲ
 Τιμασίῳ ὁ Λαρδανεύς καὶ Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Κλεάνθορ

ὁ Ὀρχομένιος ἔλεγον Κοιρατιάδῃ, μὴ θάνει, ὡς οὐχ ἡγησόμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰ μὴ δώσει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ὁ δὲ κελεύει διαμετρεῖσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἑνίδει αὐτῷ, ὥστε ἡμέρας εἶτον ἑκάστῳ γενέσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἀνυλαβὼν τὰ ἱερῆα ἀπῆι, καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπειπών.

Κεφάλαιον β΄.

Γίνων δὲ ὁ Ἀσινάϊος καὶ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Φιλήσιος ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ξανθικλῆς ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Τιμασίῳν ὁ Λαρδανεὺς ἐπέμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ εἰς κόμας τῶν Θρακῶν προελθόντες, τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. Καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐστασίαζον, Κλεάνωρ μὲν καὶ Φρυνίσκος πρὸς 10 Σιῦθην βουλόμενοι ἄγειν· ἔπειθε γὰρ αὐτούς, καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ μὲν ἵππον, τῷ δὲ γυναῖκα. Νέων δὲ εἰς Χερρόνησον, οἰόμενος, εἰ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις γένοιτο, παντὸς ἂν προσστάναι τοῦ στρατεύματος· Τιμασίῳν δὲ προὔθυμειτο 15 πέραν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβῆναι, οἰόμενος ἂν οἴκαδε κατελθεῖν. Καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ταῦτα ἐβούλοντο. Διατριβόμενον δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ ὄπλα ἀποδιδόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς χώρους, ἀπέπλεον ὡς ἐδύναντο· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδόντες [τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τοὺς χώρους] εἰς τὰς πόλεις κατεμίγνυντο. Ἀναξίβιος δ' ἔχαιρεν ἀκούων δια- 20 φθειρόμενον τὸ στράτευμα· τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων, ᾧτε μάλιστα χαρῆσθαι Φαριναβάζω.

Ἀποπλέοντι δὲ Ἀναξίβειω ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν Κυζίκῳ, διάδοχος Κλεάνδρου, Βυζαντίου [δὲ] ἄρμοστῆς· ἐλέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ ναύαρχος διάδοχος Πῶλος 25 ὅσον οὐ παρῆι ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. Καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος τῷ μὲν Ἀριστάρχῳ ἐπιστέλλει, ὁπόσους ἂν εὖροι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῶν Κύρου στρατιωτῶν ὑπολελειμμένους, ἀποδόσθαι· ὁ δὲ Κλεάνδρος οὐδένα ἐπεπράκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κάμνοντας ἐθε-

ράπευεν, οἰκτεῖρων, καὶ ἀναγκάων οἰκία δέχεσθαι· Ἀρίσταρχος δ' ἐπεί ἦλθε τάχιστα, οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων ἀπέδοτο. Ἀναξίβιος δέ, παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον, πέμπει παρὰ Φαρνάβασον κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα. Ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἤσθετο
 5 Ἀρίσταρχόν τε ἤκοντα εἰς Βυζάντιον ἄρμοστήν, καὶ Ἀναξίβιον οὐκέτι ναυαρχοῦντα, Ἀναξίβιον μὲν ἡμέλησε, πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ διεηγάτετο τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τοῦ Κυρρίου στρατεύματος, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον.

Ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἀναξίβιος, καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα, κελύει
 10 πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ συνέχειν γε αὐτὸ καὶ συναθροίζειν τῶν διεσπαρμένων ὡς ἂν πλείστον δύνηται, καὶ παραγαγόντα εἰς Πέρινθον, διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅτι τάχιστα· καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τριακόντορον καὶ ἐπιστολήν, καὶ ἄνδρα συμπίμπει,
 15 κελύσοντα τοὺς Περινθίους ὡς τάχιστα Ξενοφῶντα προπέμψαι τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν διαπλεύσας ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐδέξαντο ἡδέως, καὶ εὐθύς εἶποντο ἥσμενοι, ὡς διαβησόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Θράκης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης, ἀκούσας ἤκοντα πάλιν Ξενοφῶντα, πέμψας
 20 πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ θάλατταν Μηδοσάδην, ἐδεῖτο τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὑπισχνόμενος αὐτῷ, ὅ τι ᾔετο λέγων πείσειν. Ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ, ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶόν τε εἶη τούτων γενέσθαι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ᾔχετο. Οἱ
 25 δ' Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς Πέρινθον, Νέων μὲν ἀποσπάσας, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο χωρὶς, ἔχων ὡς ὀκτακοσίους ἀνθρώπους· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στρατεύμα πᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Π·οινθίων ἦν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἔπραττε περὶ πλοίων, ὅπως ὅτι
 30 τάχιστα διαβαῖεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος Ἀρίσταρχος, ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἄρμοστής, ἔχων δύο τριήρεις, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ Φαρναβάσου, τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις ἀπέπεμψεν μὴ διῶγειν, ἐλθὼν τε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα, εἶπε τοῖς στρατιώ-

ταις, μὴ περαιουῖσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλε-
 γεν, “ὅτι Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔπεμψεν
 ἐνθάδε.” Πάλιν δ’ Ἀριστάρχος ἔλεξεν· “Ἀναξίβιος μὲν
 τοίνυν οὐκέτι ναύαρχος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῇδε ἄρμοστής· εἰ δέ τινα
 ὑμῶν λήψομαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, καταδύσω.” Ταῦτα εἰπὼν
 ἦλθε εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ μεταπέμπεται τοὺς
 στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὄντων
 πρὸς τῷ τείχει, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὅτι, εἰ εἰσεῖσι,
 συλληφθήσεται, καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ τι πείσεται, ἣ καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ
 παραδοθήσεται. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα, τοὺς μὲν προπέμ- 10
 πεται, αὐτὸς δ’ εἶπεν, ὅτι θύσαι τι βούλοιο. Καὶ ἀπελ-
 θὼν ἐθύετο, εἰ προσῆεν αὐτῷ οἱ θεοὶ πειράσθαι πρὸς Σεύ-
 θην ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα· ἐώρα γὰρ οὔτε διαβαίνειν ἀσφα-
 λές ὄν, τριψήεις ἔχοντος τοῦ κωλύσαντος· οὔτ’ εἰς Χερσόνη-
 σον ἐλθὼν κατακλεισθῆναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν 15
 πολλῇ σπάσσει πάντων γενέσθαι· ἐνθα [δὲ] πελθεῖσθαι μὲν
 ἀνάγκη τῷ ἐκεῖ ἄρμουτῇ, τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν
 εἶναι τὸ στράτευμα.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λο-
 χαγοὶ ἦκοντες παρὰ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου, ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι νῦν 20
 μὲν ἀπιέναι σφᾶς κελεύει, τῆς δαίλης δὲ ἦκειν· ἐνθα καὶ
 δῆλῃ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει [εἶναι] ἢ ἐπιβουλῇ. Ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν,
 ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ στρατεύμα-
 τι, ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς Σεύθην ἰέναι, παραλαβὼν Πολυκράτη τε
 Ἀθηναῖον, λοχαγόν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκάστου ἄν- 25
 δρα, πλὴν παρὰ Νέωνος, ᾧ ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν, ἦλθε τῆς
 νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Σεύθου στράτευμα ἐξήκοντα στῶδια. Ἐπεὶ
 δ’ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπιτυχάνει πυροῖς ἐρήμοις. Καὶ τὸ
 μὲν πρῶτον ᾤετο μετακωρηκέναι ποι τὸν Σεύθην· ἐπεὶ
 δὲ θορύβου τε ἦσθετο, καί, σημαινόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν περὶ 30
 Σεύθην, κατέμαθεν, ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα τὰ πυρὰ προκεκαυ-
 μένα εἴη τῷ Σεύθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὅπως οἱ μὲν
 φύλακες μὴ ὀρῶντο, ἐν τῷ σκότει ὄντες, μήθ’ ὅπου εἶεν, οἱ

δὲ προσιόντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς εἶεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ῥύσθετο, προπέμπει τὸν ἐρμηνεῖα, ὃν εἰγγχανεν ἔχων, καὶ εἰπεῖν κελεύει Σεύθῃ, ὅτι Ξενοφῶν παρείη, βουλόμενος συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ. Οἱ δ' ἤροντο, εἰ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, 5 ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔφη οὗτος εἶναι, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐδίωκον· καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον παρήσαν πελισταὶ ὅσον διακόσιοι, καὶ παραλαβόντες Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, ἤγον πρὸς Σεύθην. Ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν τύρσει μάλα φυλατιόμενος, καὶ ἵπποι περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ ἐγκεχαλινωμένοι· 10 διὰ γὰρ τὸν φόβον τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐχλῖον τοὺς ἵππους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις ἐφυλάττετο. Ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν Τήρης, ὁ τούτου πρόγονος, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ, πύλῳ ἔχων στρατεύμα, ὑπὸ τοίτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσαι, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἀφαιρεθῆναι· ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι 15 Θυνοί, πάντων λεγόμενοι εἶναι μάλιστα νυκτὸς πολεμικώτατοι.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰσελθεῖν Ξενοφῶντα, ἔχοντα δύο, οὓς βούλοιο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἡσπάζοντο μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Θράκιον νόμον κέ- 20 ρατα οἶνου προῦπινον· παρῆν δὲ καὶ Μηδοσάδης τῇ Σεύθῃ, ὅςπερ ἐπρίσβευεν αὐτῷ πάντοσε. Ἐπειτα δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν· “Ἐπεμψας πρὸς ἐμέ, ᾧ Σεύθῃ, εἰς Χαλκηδόνα πρῶτον Μηδοσάδην τουτονί, δεόμενός μου συμπροθυμηθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸ στρατεύμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπι- 25 σχνούμενός μοι, εἰ ταῦτα πράξαιμι, εὖ ποιήσεις, ὡς ἔφη Μηδοσάδης οὗτος.” Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἐπήρето τὸν Μηδοσάδην, εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' εἶπεν. Ὁ δ' ἔφη. “Ἀνθις ἦλθε Μηδοσάδης οὗτος, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ διεβην πάλιν τὸ στρατεύμα ἐκ Παρίου, ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ ἄγοιμι τὸ στρατεύμα πρὸς σέ, ταῦ- 30 λα τέ γε φίλῳ μοι χρήσεσθαι καὶ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ μοι χωρία, ὧν σὺ κρατεῖς, ἔσεσθαι παρὰ σοῦ.” Ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ἐπήρето Μηδοσάδην, εἰ ἔλεγε ταῦτα. Ὁ δὲ συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα. “Ἰθι νῦν,” ἔφη, “ἀφήγησαι τούτῳ, τί

σοι ἀπεκρινάμην ἐν Χαλκηδόνι.” “Πρῶτον ἀπεκρίνω, ὅτι τὸ στρατεύμα διαβήσοιτο εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου ἔνεκα δέοι τελεῖν, οὔτε σοί, οὔτ’ ἄλλω· αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ διαβαίης, ἀπιέναι ἔφησθα· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως, ὥς περ σὺ ἔλεγες.” “Τί γὰρ ἔλεγον,” ἔφη, “ὅτε κατὰ Σηλυβρίαν ἀφίκου;” 6 “Οὐκ ἔφησθα οἷόν τ’ εἶναι, ἀλλ’ εἰς Πέρινθον ἐλθόντας διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.” “Νῦν τοίνυν,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “πάρειμι καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οὗτος Φρυνίσκος, εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Πολυκράτης οὗτος, εἰς τῶν λοχαγῶν· καὶ ἔξω εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πιστότατος ἐκάστω, πλὴν Νίω-10 νος τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. Εἰ οὖν βούλει πιστοποιεῖν εἶναι τὴν πράξιν, καὶ ἐκείνους κάλεσον. Τὰ δὲ ὄπλα σὺ ἐλθὼν εἰπέ, ὃ Πολυκράτης, ὅτι ἐγὼ κελεύω καταλιπεῖν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ καταλιπὼν τὴν μάχαιραν εἰσιθί.”

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἂν ἀπιστή- 15 σαιεν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἶεν εἰδέναι, καὶ φίλους εὖνους ἔφη νομίζειν. Μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, οὓς ἔδει, πρῶτον Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρето Σεύθην, ὃ τι δέοιτο χρησθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ. Ὁ δ’ εἶπεν ὥδε· “Μαισιάδης ἦν μοι πατήρ· ἐκείνου δ’ ἦν ἀρχὴ Μελανδίται, καὶ Θυνοί, καὶ 20 Τρανίται. Ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ τὰ Ὀδρυσῶν πράγματα ἐνόσησεν, ἐκπεσὼν ὁ πατήρ, αἰτὸς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει νόσῳ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξετράφην ὀρφανὸς παρὰ Μηδόκῳ, τῷ νῦν βασιλεῖ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἐδυνάμην 25 ἐνδύμενος αὐτῷ ἰκέτης, δοῦναι μοι, ὅπόσους δυνατός εἴη, ἄνδρας, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἡμᾶς, εἴ τι δυναίμην, κακὸν ποιοίην, καὶ ζῶην, μὴ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τράπεζαν ἀπο- βλέπων, ὥς περ κῶν. Ἐκ τούτου μοι δίδωσι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς ὑμεῖς ὕψεσθε, ἐπειδὰν ἡμέρα γένηται. 30 Καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ζῶ τούτους ἔχων, ληϊζόμενος τὴν ἐμαντοῦ πατρῴαν χώραν. Εἰ δέ μοι ὑμεῖς παραγένοισθε, οἶμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ῥαδίως ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. Ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἃ ἐγὼ ὑμῶν δέομαι.”

“ Τί οὖν ἄν,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ σὺ δύναιο, εἰ ἔλθοιμεν, τῇ τε στρατιᾷ διδόναι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, λέξον, ἵνα οὗτοι ἀπαγγείλωσιν.” Ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο τῷ μὲν στρατιώτῃ Κυζικηνόν, τῷ δὲ λοχαγῷ διμοιρίαν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τετραμοιρίαν· καὶ γῆν, ὅποσιν ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ ζεύγη, καὶ χωρίον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τετειχισμένον. “ Ἄν δ’,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ ταῦτα περῶμενοι μὴ διαπράξωμεν, ἀλλὰ τις φόβος ἀπὸ Λυκεδαιμονίων ἤ, δεῖξῃ εἰς τὴν σαστοῦ, ἂν τις βούληται ἀπιέναι πρὸς σέ;” Ὁ δ’ εἶπε·

10 “ Καὶ ἀδελφούς γε ποιήσομαι, καὶ ἐνδιφρόλους, καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἀπάντων, ὧν ἂν δυνώμεθα κτήσασθαι. Σοὶ δ’, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ θυγατέρα δώσω, καὶ εἴ τις σοὶ ἐστι θυγάτηρ, ὧνήσομαι Θρακίῳ νόμῳ· καὶ Βισάνθην οἴκησιν δώσω, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ κάλλιστον χωρίον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.”

Κεφάλαιον γ'.

15 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, καὶ δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες, ἀπήλουνον, καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ἕκαστοι τοῖς πέμψασιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος πάλιν ἐκάλει τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς· τοῖς δ’ ἔδοξε τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον ὁδὸν εἶσαι,

20 τὸ δὲ στρατεύμα συγκαλέσαι. Καὶ συνῆλθον πάντες, πλήν οἱ Νέωνος· οὗτοι δὲ ἀπεῖχον ὥς δέκα στάδια. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν εἶπε τάδε· “ Ἄνδρες, διαπλεῖν μὲν, ἔνθα βουλόμεθα, Ἀρίσταρχος ὅδε, τριήρεις ἔχων, κωλύει· ὥστ’ εἰς πλοῖα οὐκ ἀσφαλές ἐμβαίνειν· οὗτος δὲ ὁ

25 αὐτὸς εἰς Χερσόνησον κελεύει βίῃ διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους πορεύεσθαι· ἣν δὲ, κρατήσαντες τούτου, ἐκείσε ἔλθωμεν, οὔτε πωλήσειν ἔτι φησὶν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οὔτε ἐξαπατήσεσθαι ἔτι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ λήψεσθαι μισθὸν [μᾶλλον], οὔτε περιόψεσθαι ἔτι, ὥσπερ νυνί, ἐνδεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

Οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα λέγει· Σεύθης δὲ φησιν, ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνον ἴητε, εὐ ποιήσιν ὑμᾶς. Νῦν οὖν σκέψασθε, πότερον ἐνθάδε μένοντες τοῦτο βουλευσέσθε, ἢ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπανελθόντες. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἀργύριον ἔχομεν, ὥστε ἀγοράζειν, οὔτε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπανελθόντας εἰς τὰς κώμας, ὅθεν οἱ ἥτιους ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν, ἐκεῖ ἔχοντας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, [καὶ] ἀκούοντας, ὃ τι τις ὑμῶν δεῖται, αἰρῆσθαι, ὃ τι ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι. Καὶ ὅτῃ," ἔφη, "ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα." Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. "Ἀπιώντες τοίνυν," 10 ἔφη, "συσκευάζεσθε, καὶ ἐπειδὴν παραγγυίῃ τις, ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ."

Μετὰ τοῦτο Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἡγεῖτο, οἱ δ' εἵποντο. Νίων δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστάρχου ἄλλοι ἔπειθον ἀποτρέπεσθαι· οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίους προελθόντες 15 λύθεισαν, ὑπαντῇ Σεύθης. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἰδὼν αὐτόν, προσελάσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείωτων ἀκούοντων εἴποι αὐτῷ, ἃ ἰδόκει συμφέρειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· "Ἡμεῖς πορευόμεθα, ὅπου μέλλει τὸ στράτευμα ἔξιν τροφήν· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀκούοντες καὶ σοὺ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ, αἰρησόμεθα, ἃ ἂν κράτιστα δοκῇ εἶναι. Ἦν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡγήσῃ, ὅπου πλείστα ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεια, ὑπὸ σοῦ νόμιον 20 ἐξενίσθαι." Καὶ ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν· "Ἀλλὰ οἶδα κώμας πολλὰς ἀθρόας, καὶ πάντα ἐχούσας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἀπεχούσας ἡμῶν ὅσον διελθόντες ἂν ἡδέως ἀμιστήητε." "Ἦγού τοι 25 νυν," ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆςδείλης, συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ εἶπε Σεύθης τοιαύδε· "Ἐγώ, ὃ ἄνδρες, δέομαι ὑμῶν στρατεύεσθαι σὺν ἐμοί· καὶ ὑπισχνόμην ὑμῖν [τοῦ μηνός] δώσειν Κυζικηνόν, λοχαγοῖς δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα· ἔξω δὲ τούτων, τὸν 30 ἄξιον τιμῆσω· οὔτα δὲ καὶ ποτά, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν, ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνοντες ἔξετε ὅποσα δὲ ἂν ἀλλασκῇται, ἀξιώσω αὐτὸς ἔχειν, ἵνα ταῦτα διατιθέμενος ὑμῖν τὸν μισθὸν πο-

ρῆζω. Καὶ τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντα ἡμεῖς
 ἱκανοὶ ἐσομεθα διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν· ἣν δὲ τις ἀνθίστη-
 ται, σὺν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι.” Ἐπήρετο Ξενο-
 φῶν· “Πῶσον δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀξιώσεις συνέπεσθαι σοι
 τὸ στράτευμα;” Ὁ δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο· “Οὐδαμῇ πλεῖον ἐπὶ τὰ
 ἡμερῶν, μείον δὲ πολλαχῇ.”

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδίδοτο λέγειν τῷ βουλομένῳ· καὶ ἔλεγον
 πολλοὶ κατὰ ταῦτά, ὅτι παντὸς ἄξια λέγοι Σεύθης· χειμῶν
 γὰρ εἶη, καὶ οὔτε οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ δυνατόν
 10 εἶη, διαγενέσθαι τε ἐν φιλίᾳ οὐχ οἶόν τ’ εἶη, εἰ δέοι ὠνόν-
 μένους ζῆν· ἐν δὲ τῇ πολέμῳ διατρέβειν καὶ τρέφεσθαι
 ἀσφαλέστερον μετὰ Σεύθου, ἢ μόνους, ὄντων ἀγαθῶν το-
 σοῦτων· εἰ δὲ μισθὸν προσλήψοιντο, εὖρημα ἐδόκει εἶναι.
 Ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· “Εἴ τις ἀντιλέγει, λεγέτω· εἰ
 15 δὲ μή, ἐπιψηφίζετω ταῦτα.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντίλεγεν,
 ἐπεψήφισε, καὶ ἔδωκε ταῦτα. Εὐθύς δὲ Σεύθῃ εἶπεν, ὅτι
 συνστρατεύουσιντο αὐτῷ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐσκήνησαν· στρα-
 τηγοὺς δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Σεύθης ἐκάλεσε, πλη-
 20 σίον κόμην ἔχων. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον
 παριόντες, ἦν τις Ἡρακλείδης Μαρωνεΐτης· οὗτος προσιών
 ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ, οὕστινας ᾤετο ἔχειν τι δοῦναι Σεύθῃ, πρῶτον
 μὲν πρὸς Παριανούς τινας (οἱ παρήσαν φιλίαν διαπραξόμε-
 νοι πρὸς Μηδόκον, τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλεῖα, καὶ δῶρα ἄγουν-
 25 τες αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί,) ἔλεγεν, “ὅτι Μήδοκος μὲν ἄνω
 εἶη δώδεκα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὁδόν· Σεύθης δέ, ἐπει-
 δὴ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο εἴληφεν, ἄρχων ἔσοιτο ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.
 Γέλων οὖν ὢν, ἱκανώτατος ἔσται ὑμᾶς καὶ εὐ καὶ κακῶς
 ποιεῖν· ἣν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τούτῳ δώσετε, ὃ τι ἄγετε· καὶ
 30 ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται, ἢ ἐὰν Μηδόκῳ τῷ πρόσω οἰκοῦντι
 δῶτε.” Τούτους μὲν οὕτως ἔπειθεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ Τιμασίῳ
 τῷ Δαρδανεῖ προσελθὼν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουεν αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐκπώ-
 ματα καὶ τάπιδας βαρβαρικὰς, ἔλεγεν, “ὅτι νομίζοιτο, ὁπότε

ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλίσαι Στυθης, θεωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τοὺς κληθέν-
τας· οὗτος δ' ἦν μέγας ἐνθάδε γένηται, ἱκανὸς ἔσται σε
καὶ οἰκαδὲ καταγαγεῖν, καὶ ἐνθάδε πλούσιον ποιήσαι.”
Τοιαῦτα προῦμνᾶτο, ἐκάστῳ προσιών. Προςελθὼν δὲ καὶ
Ξενοφῶντι, ἔλεγε· “Σὺ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης εἶ, καὶ παρὰ
Στυθὴ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα μέγιστόν ἐστι· καὶ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ
ἴσως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τείχη λαμβάνειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν
ὑμετέρων ἔλαβον, καὶ χώραν· ἄξιον οὖν σοι καὶ μεγαλοπρε-
πίστατα τιμῆσαι Στυθην. Εὐνους δὲ σοι ὦν παραινῶ· εὐ
οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν μεῖζω τούτων θεωρήσῃ, τοσούτῳ μεῖζω
ὑπὸ τούτου ἀγαθὰ πείσῃ.” Ἀκούων ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν,
ἡγόρευε· οὐ γὰρ διαβεβήκει ἔχων ἐκ Παρίου εἰ μὴ παῖδα καὶ
ὅσον ἐφόδιον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰςῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τῶν τε Θρακῶν οἱ κρά-
τιστοι τῶν [τότε] παρόντων, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ οἱ λοχα-
γοί τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ εἴ τις πρεσβεία παρῆν ὑπὸ πόλεως, τὸ
δεῖπνον μὲν ἦν καθημένους κύκλῳ· ἔπειτα δὲ τρίποδες εἰση-
νέχθησαν πᾶσιν· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων,
καὶ ἄρτοι ζυμῖται μεγάλοι προσπεπερονημένοι ἦσαν πρὸς
τοῖς κρέασι. Μάλιστα δὲ αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τοὺς ξένους αἰεὶ
ἐτίθεντο· νόμος γὰρ ἦν. Καὶ πρῶτος τοῦτο ἐποίει Στυ-
θης· ἀνελόμενος τοὺς παρακειμένους αὐτῷ ἄρτους, διέκλα
κατὰ μικρόν, καὶ διεβρίπτει, οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει· καὶ τὰ κρέα
ὥσαύτως, ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι ἑαυτῷ καταλιπὼν. Καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν, καθ' οὓς αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο.
Ἀρκὰς δὲ τις, Ἀρύστας ὄνομα, φαγεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαβρί-
πτειν εἷα χαίρειν, λαβὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον
ἄρτον, καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα, ἐδείπνει. Κέρατα
δὲ οἶνου περιέφερον, καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο· ὁ δ' Ἀρύστας,
ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος ἦκεν, εἶπεν, ἰδὼν
τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκέτι δειπνοῦντα, “Ἐκείνῳ,” ἔφη, “ὁός·
σχολάζει γὰρ ἡδὴ, ἐγὼ δ' οὐπω.” Ἀκούσας ὁ Στυθης τὴν
φωνήν, ἡρώτα τὸν οἰνοχόον, τί λέγοι. Ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος

εἶπεν· ἑλληνίζειν γὰρ ἡπίστατο. Ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ προὔχῳρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Θορᾶξ, ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν· καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστόν, εἶπε· “ Προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωροῦμαι, ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ διώκων, ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃς, αἰρήσεις, καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δεισῇς τὸν πολέμιον.” Ἄλλος, παῖδα εἰσαγαγών, οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο προπίνων, καὶ ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυναικί. Καὶ Τιμασίῳ προπίνων ἐδωρήσατο φιάλην τε ἀργυρεῶν καὶ τάπιδα ἀξίαν 10 δέκα μῶν. Ἰνῆσιππος δὲ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν, “ ὅτι ἀρχαῖος εἶη νόμος κάλλιστος, τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα· τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι διδόναι τὸν βασιλέα· ἵνα καγώ,” ἔφη, “ σοὶ ἔχῃ δωρεῖσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν.” Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἠπορεῖτο, ὅ τι ποιήσοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐτίγγανεν, 15 ὡς τιμώμενος, ἐν τῷ πλησιμυτάτῳ δίφρῳ Σεύθῃ καθήμενος. Ὁ δὲ Ἰφρακλείδης ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸ κέρας ὀρέξαι τὸν οἶνοχόον. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἤδη γὰρ ὑποπεπωκώς ἐτίγγανεν, ἀνίστη, θαρβύαλέως δεξιόμενος τὸ κέρας, καὶ εἶπεν· “ Ἐγὼ δὲ σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, δίδωμι ἱμαντὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔμους τούτοις 20 ἑταίρους, φίλους εἶναι πιστούς· καὶ οὐδένα ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ πάντας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐμοῦ σοὶ βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι. Καὶ νῦν πάρεσιν οὐδέν σε προσαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προῖέμενοι καὶ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντες· μεθ’ ὧν, ἂν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι, πολλὴν χώραν τὴν μὲν ἀπολήψῃ, 25 πατρῴαν οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ κτήσῃ· πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καλὰς κτήσῃ, οὓς οὐ ληΐζεσθαι δεήσει, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ φέροντες παρίσονται πρὸς σὲ δῶρα.” Καὶ ὁ Σεύθῃς ἀναστὰς συνεξέπτε καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρας. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασι τε, οἷσις 30 σημαίνουσιν αὐλοῦντες, καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὠμοβοῖναις, ψυθμούς τε καὶ οἶον μαγάδι σαλπίζοντες. Καὶ αὐτὸς Σεύθῃς ἀναστὰς ἀνέκραγε τε πολεμικόν, καὶ ἐξήλατο, ὥσπερ βέλος φυλαττόμενος, μάλα ελαφρῶς. Εἰσῆσαν δὲ καὶ γελωτοποιοί.

Ὡς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς, ἀνέστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ εἶπον, ὅτι ὥρα ἤδη νυκτοφυλάκας καθίσταναι, καὶ σὺνθημα παραδιδόναι. Καὶ Σεύθην ἐκέλευον παρυγγεῖλαι, ὥπως εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ στρατόπεδα μηδεὶς τῶν Θρακῶν εἰσεσι νυκτός· “οἱ τε γὰρ πολέμιοι Θραῖκες ὑμῖν, καὶ ἡμῖν οἱ φίλοι.”

Ὡς δ' ἐξήρτησαν, συνανέστη ὁ Σεύθης, οὐδέν τι μεθύοντι ἐοικώς. Ἐξελθὼν δ' εἶπεν, αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀποκαλέσας· “ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ πολέμιοι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἴσασι πῶς τὴν ὑμετέραν συμμαχίαν· ἦν οὖν ἔλθωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν φυλάξασθαι, ὥστε μὴ ληφθῆναι, ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὥστε ἰσχυρῶς ἀμύνασθαι, μάλιστα ἂν λάβοιμεν χρήματα καὶ ἀνθρώπους.”

Συνεπῆρουν ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ ἡγέσθαι ἐκέλευον. Ὁ δ' εἶπε· “Παρασκευασάμενοι ἀναμενεῖτε· ἐγὼ δ', ὅπου ἴσταιν καιρὸς ἢ, ἦξω παρ' ὑμᾶς· καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναλαβὼν, ἡγήσομαι σὺν τοῖς θείοις.” Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· “Σκέψαι τοίνυν, εἴπερ νυκτός πορευσόμεθα, εἰ ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς νόμος κάλλιον ἔχει· μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πορείαις ἡγείται τοῦ στρατεύματος, ὁποῖον ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν συμφέρει, ἐάν τε ὀπλιτικόν, ἐάν τε πελταστικόν, ἐάν τε ἱππικόν· νύκτωρ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔστιν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ βραδύτατον· οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστα διασπᾶται τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ ἥκιστα λανθάνουσιν ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀλλήλους· οἱ δὲ διασπασθέντες πολλάκις καὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες κακῶς ποιοῦσι καὶ πάσχουσιν.”

Εἶπεν οὖν Σεύθης· “Ὅρθως τε λέγετε, καὶ [ἐγὼ] τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ὑμέτερῳ πείσομαι. Καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡγεμόνας δώσω, τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῆς χώρας, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐφέσομαι τελευταῖος, τοὺς ἵππους ἔχων· ταχὺ γὰρ πρῶτος, ἂν δέη, παρῆσομαι. Σὺνθημα δὲ [ποιῶμαι],” εἶπεν, “Ἀθηναίαν κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.” Ταῦτ' εἰπόντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

Ἦν δ' ἡμέρα μίσης νύκτας, παρῆν Σεύθης, ἔχων τοὺς ἵππους τεθωρακισμένους, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. Καὶ ἐπεὶ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται

ἡγοῦντο, οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ εἶποντο, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ὠπισθοφυλάκουν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἦν, ὁ Σεύθης παρήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ πρῶθεν, καὶ ἐπῆνεσε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον· πολλάκις γὰρ ἔφη νύκτωρ αὐτός, καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις πορευόμενος, ἀπουσιάζειναι σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν· νῦν δέ, ὥς περ δεῖ, ἀθρόοι πάντες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινόμεθα. Ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν περιμένετε αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἐγὼ δὲ σκεψάμενός τι ἦξω." Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνε δι' ὄρους ὁδὸν τινα λαβών. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκετο εἰς χιόνα πολλήν, ἐσκεψατο ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, εἰ εἴη ἔχρη ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρόσω ἡγούμενα, ἢ ἐναντία. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀτριβῇ ἰώρα τὴν ὁδόν, ἦκε ταχὺ πάλιν, καὶ ἔλεγε· "Καλῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔσται, ἐὰν θεὸς θέλῃ· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους λήσομεν ἐπιπεσόντες. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγήσομαι τοῖς ἵπποις, ὅπως, ἂν τινα ἴδωμεν, μὴ διαφυγὼν σῆμῃν τοῖς πολέμοις· ὑμεῖς δ' ἔπεσθε· κἂν λειφθῇτε, τῷ στίβῳ τῶν ἵππων ἔπεσθε· ὑπερβάντες δὲ τὰ ὄρη ἥσομεν εἰς [τάς] κώμας πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας."

Ἦνίκα δὲ ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, ἤδη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις, καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς κώμας, ἦκεν ἐλαύνων πρὸς τοὺς ὀπίτας, καὶ ἔλεγεν· "Ἀφήσω ἤδη καταθεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἱππείας εἰς τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας. Ἀλλ' ἔπεσθε ὡς ἂν δύνησθε τάχιστα, ὅπως, ἂν τις ὑφιστῇται, ἀλέξησθε." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. Καὶ ὅς ἤρετο· "Τί καταβαίνεις, ἐπεὶ σπευθεῖν δεῖ;" "Οἶδα," εἶπε, "ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνου δέη· οἱ δ' ὀπλῖται θάπτεον δραμοῦνται καὶ ἡδιον, ἂν καὶ ἐγὼ πεζὸς ἡγῶμαι."

Μετὰ ταῦτα ὤχετο, καὶ Τιμασίῳ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἔχων ἱππείας ὡς τετραράκοντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρηγύησε τοὺς εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη παρῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων εὐζώνους. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτρόχαιζε τούτους ἔχων· Κλεάνωρ δὲ ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἦσαν, Σεύθης, ἔχων ὅσον τριάκοντα ἱππείας, προσελάσας εἶπε· "Τάδε δὴ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἃ σὺ ἔλεγες· ἔχονται οἱ ἄν-

θρωποι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἱππῆες ἔφημοι οἴχονται μοι, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διώκων· καὶ δίδοικα, μὴ συστάντες ἀθρόοι που κακόν τι ἐργάζωνται οἱ πολέμοι. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμας καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμῶν· μεσταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων.” “Ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “σὺν οἷς ἔχω, τὰ ἄκρα καταλήφομαι· σὺ δὲ Κλεάνορα κίλευε διὰ τοῦ πεδίου παρατεῖναι τὴν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὰς κώμας.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, συηλίσθησαν ἀνδράποδα μὲν ὥς χίλια, βόις δὲ διςχίλιοι, καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα μύρια. Καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ ηὐλίσθησαν. 10

Κεφάλαιον δ’.

Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ κατακαύσας ὁ Σεύθης τὰς κώμας παντελῶς, καὶ οὐδεμίαν οἰκίαν λιπᾶν, ὅπως φόβον ἐνθιῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷα πείσονται, ἂν μὴ πείθωνται, ἀπῆι πάλιν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν ἀπέπεμψε διατίθεσθαι Ἱηρακλείδῃ εἰς Πέρινθον, ὅπως μισθὸς γένοιτο τοῖς στρατιώταις· αὐτὸς δὲ 15 καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἀνὰ τὸ Θυνῶν πεδῖον. Οἱ δ’ ἐκλιπόντες, ἔφηνον εἰς τὰ ὄρη.

Ἦν δὲ χιῶν πολλή, καὶ ψυχρὸς οὕτως, ὥστε τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ ἐφέροντο ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἐπήγνυτο, καὶ ὁ οἶνος [ὃ] ἐν τοῖς ἀγχείοις, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν καὶ ῥῖνες ἀπεκαίοντο καὶ 20 ὤτα. Καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο, οὐ ἔνεκα οἱ Θρᾷκες τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς· καὶ ζειφᾶς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ χλαμύδας. Ἀφιεῖς δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σεύθης εἰς 25 τὰ ὄρη, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται οἰκήσοντες καὶ πείσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ τούτων τὰς κώμας καὶ τὸν σῖτον, καὶ ἀπολοῦνται τῷ λιμῷ. Ἐκ τούτου κατέβαινον καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐν

ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κόμαις ἠύλιζοντο. Καὶ ὁ Σεύθης καταμαθὼν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς νεωτάτους λαβόντα συνεπισπένθαι. Καὶ ἀναστάντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρῆσαν εἰς τὰς κόμας· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείυτοι
 5 ἐξέφυγον· πλησίον γὰρ ἦν τὸ ὄρος· ὅσους δὲ ἔλαβε, κατηκόντισεν ἀφειδῶς Σεύθης.

Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἦν τις Ὀλύνθιος, παιδεραστής, ὃς ἰδὼν καλὸν παῖδα ἡβάνκοντα ἄρτι, πέλιτῃν ἔχοντα, μέλλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν, προςδραμὼν Ξενοφῶντα ἰκέτευε βοηθῆσαι παιδί
 10 καλῷ. Καὶ ὡς προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ δεῖται, μὴ ἀποκτείναι τὸν παῖδα· καὶ τοῦ Ἐπισθένους διηγεῖται τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι λόχον ποτὲ συνελίξατο, σκοπῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἢ εἰ τινες εἶεν κυλοί· καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἤρετο· “Ἦ καὶ ἐθέλοις ἄν, ὦ Ἐπίσθενες, ὑπὲρ τού-
 15 του ἀποθανεῖν;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ἀνατείνας τὸν τράχηλον· “Παῖτε, εἰ κελεύει ὁ παῖς, καὶ μέλλει χάριν εἰδέναι.” Ἐπήρετο ὁ Σεύθης τὸν παῖδα, εἰ παύσειν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. Οὐκ εἶα ὁ παῖς, ἀλλ’ ἰκέτευε μηδὲ ἕτερον κατακαίνειν. Ἐν-
 ταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἐπισθένης, περιλαβὼν τὸν παῖδα, εἶπεν·
 20 “Ἰδρα σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, περὶ τούδε μοι διαμάχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μεθήσω τὸν παῖδα.” Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης γελῶν, ταῦτα μὲν εἶα· ἔδοξε δ’ αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ ἀνλίσθῃναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τούτων τῶν κομῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τρέφονται. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑποκαταβὰς ἐσκήνου· Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέ-
 25 κτους, ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἀνωτάτῳ κόμῃ· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλλη-
 νες ἐν τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καλουμένοις Θρηξὶ πλησίον κατεσκήνησαν.
 Ἐκ τούτου ἡμέραι οὐ πολλαὶ διετρίβοντο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους Θρηῆες, καταβαίνοντες πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην, περὶ ὁμήρων καὶ σπονδῶν διεπραίττοντο. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν ἔλεγε
 30 τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅτι, ἐν πονηροῖς τόποις σκηνοῦν, καὶ πλησίον εἶναι οἱ πολέμιοι· ἥδιον δ’ ἂν ἔξω ἀνλίσσθαι ἔφη ἐν ἐχυροῖς [ἄν] χωρίοις μάλλον, ἢ ἐν τοῖς στεγνοῖς, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι.
 Ὁ δὲ θαρρύνει ἰκέλευε, καὶ ἔδειξεν ὁμήρους παρόντας αὐτῷ.

Ἐδίοnton δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καταβαίνοντες τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους, συμπρᾶξαι σφίσι τὰς σπονδάς. Ὁ δ' ὠμολόγει, καὶ θαρσύνει ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἡγγυᾶτο μηδὲν αὐτοὺς κακὸν πέσεισθαι πειθομένους Σεύθῃ. Οἱ δ' ἄρα ταῦτα ἔλεγον κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα.

Ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐπιτίθενται ἔλθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους οἱ Θυνοί. Καὶ ἡγεμῶν μὲν ἦν ὁ δεσπότης ἐκάστης τῆς οἰκίας· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως τὰς οἰκίας σκότους ὄντος ἀνευρίσκειν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι κύκλῳ περισταύρωντο μεγάλοις σταυροῖς 10 τῶν προβάτων ἕνεκα. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας ἐκάστου τοῦ οἰκήματος, οἱ μὲν εἰσῃκόντιζον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἔβαλλον, ἃ ἔχειν ἔφασαν, ὥς ἀποκόψοντες τῶν δοράτων τὰς λόγχας· οἱ δὲ ἐνεπλίμπρασαν· καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ὀνομαστί καλοῦντες, ἐξιόντα ἐκέλευον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ 15 ἔφασαν κατακαυθῆσθαι αὐτόν.

Καὶ ἥδη τε διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐφαίνετο πῦρ, καὶ ἐντεθωρακισμένοι οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἀσπίδας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ κράτη ἔχοντες· καὶ Σιλανὸς Μακίστιος, ἐτῶν [ἦδη ὡς] ὀκτωκαίδεκα ὢν, σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ εὐ- 20 θὺς ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων σκηνωμάτων. Οἱ δὲ Θορᾶκες φεύγουσιν, ὥς περ δὴ τρόπος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅπισθεν περιβαλλόμενοι τὰς πέλτας· καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπερβαλλομένων τοὺς σταυροὺς ἐλήφθησάν τινες κρεμασθέντες, ἐνεχομένων τῶν πελτῶν τοῖς σταυροῖς· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπέ- 25 θανον, διαμαρτόντες τῶν ἐξόδων· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐδίωκον ἕως τῆς κώμης. Τῶν τε Θυνῶν ὑποστραφέντες τινὲς ἐν τῷ σκότει, τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν καιομένην ἱκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἔτρωσαν Ἰερώνυμόν τε Ἐυοδίαν τὸν λοχαγόν, καὶ Θεαγίην [δὲ] Λοκρὸν τὸν λοχα- 30 γόν· ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς· κατεκαύθη μέντοι καὶ ἐσθῆς τινων καὶ σκεύη. Σεύθης δὲ ἤκε βοηθήσων σὺν ἐπὶ ἱππεύσι τοῖς πρώτοις, καὶ τὸν σαλπικτήν ἔχων τὸν Θοράκιον·

καὶ ἐπεὶ περ ἤσθετο, ὅσον περ χρόνον ἐβοήθει, τοσούτον καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐφθίγγετο αὐτῷ· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο φόβον συμπαρεῖχε τοῖς πολέμοις. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν, ἐδεξιούτο τε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οἴοιτο τεθνεώτως πολλοὺς εὐρήσειν.

- 5 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ξενοφῶν δεῖται τοὺς ὁμήρους τε αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, εἰ βούλεται, συστρατεῦσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἑᾶσαι. Τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ παραδίδωσιν ὁ Σεύθης τοὺς ὁμήρους, πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας, τοὺς κρατίστους, ὡς ἔφασαν, τῶν ὀρειῶν· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐρχεται σὺν τῇ δυνά-
- 10 μει. Ἦδη δ' εἶχε καὶ τριπλασίαν δύναμιν ὁ Σεύθης· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν, ἀκούοντες, ἃ πράττει ὁ Σεύθης, πολλοὶ κατέβαινον συστρατευσόμενοι. Οἱ δὲ Θυνοὶ, ἐπεὶ εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ πελταστάς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππεύς, καταβάντες ἰκέτευον σπείσασθαι· καὶ
- 15 πάντα ὁμολόγουν ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευον. Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης, καλίσας τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπιδείκνυνεν, ἃ λέγοιεν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔφη σπείσασθαι, εἰ Ξενοφῶν βούλοιτο τιμωρησάσθαι αἰῶνους τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν·
- 20 “Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε ἱκανὴν νομίζω καὶ νῦν δίκην ἔχειν, εἰ οἷτοι δοῦλοι ἔσονται ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων.” συμβουλεύειν μέντοι ἔφη αὐτῷ, τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους κακόν τι ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γέροντας οἴκοι ἑᾶν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτη πάντες δὴ προσωμολόγουν.

Κεφάλαιον ε'

- Ῥητορβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θραῖκας, εἰς
- 25 τὸ Δίλτα καλούμενον (αὕτη δ' ἦν οὐκ ἐτι ἀρχὴ Μαισιάδου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρυσῶν, ἀρχαίου τινός)· καὶ ὁ Ἰηρακλείδης ἐνταῦθα ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λείας παρῆν, καὶ Σεύθης, ἐξαγαγὼν ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ τρία, οὐ γὰρ ἦν πλείον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοεικὰ, καλίσας Ξενοφῶντα ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα δια-

νεῖμαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς. Ξενοφῶν δὲ τὰδ' εἶ-
 πεν· “Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἀρκεῖ καὶ αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν· τούτοις
 δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς Δωροῦ, οἳ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ
 λοχαγοῖς.” Καὶ τῶν ζευγῶν λαμβάνει ἐν μὲν Τιμασίῳ ὁ
 Δαρδανεύς, ἐν δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος, ἐν δὲ Φρυνίσκος
 ὁ Ἀχαιοῦς· τὰ δὲ βοεῖα ζεύγη τοῖς λοχαγοῖς καταμερίσθη.
 Τὸν δὲ μισθὸν ἀποδίδωσιν, ἐξηλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ μηνός,
 εἴκοσι μόνον ἡμερῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐ
 πλεον ἐμπολήσαι. Ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν ἀχθεσθεὶς εἶπεν ἐπο-
 μύσας· “Δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Ἡρακλείδη, οὐκ ὥς δεῖ κηδεσθαι
 Σεύθου· εἰ γὰρ ἐκῆδου, ἥκεις ἂν πλήρη φέρων τὸν μισθόν,
 καὶ προσδανεισάμενος, εἰ μὴ γ' ἄλλως ἐδύνω, καὶ ἀποδόμε-
 νος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἱμάτια.”

Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἠχθέσθη τε, καὶ ἔδεισε, μὴ ἐκ
 τῆς Σεύθου φιλίας ἐκβληθεῖ· καὶ ὅ τι ἐδύνατο ἀπὸ ταύτης
 τῆς ἡμέρας Ξενοφῶντα διέβαλλε πρὸς Σεύθην. Οἱ μὲν δὲ
 στρατιῶται Ξενοφῶντι ἐνεκάλουν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον τὸν μισθόν·
 Σεύθης δὲ ἤχθετο αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐκτόνως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀπῆ-
 ρτει τὸν μισθόν. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν αἰὲ ἐμέμνητο, ὥς, ἐπειδὴν
 ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπείλθη, παραδώσοι αὐτῷ Βισάνθην καὶ
 Γάνον καὶ Νέον τεῖχος· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου οὐδε-
 νὸς ἔτι τούτων ἐμέμνητο. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τοῦτο
 διαβεβλήκει, ὥς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἴη, τεῖχη παραδιδόναι ἀνδρὶ
 δύνامي ἐχοντι.

Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν ἐβουλεύετο, τί χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ
 τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι· ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης, εἰσαγαγὼν
 τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς πρὸς Σεύθην, λέγειν τε ἐκέλευεν
 αὐτούς, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἦτον σφεῖς ἀγάγοιεν τὴν στρατιάν, ἢ
 Ξενοφῶν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ὑπυχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἐντὸς ὀλίγων
 ἡμερῶν ἐκπλεων παρέσεσθαι δυοῖν μηνῶν· συστρατεύε-
 σθαι τε ἐκέλευε. Καὶ ὁ Τιμασίῳ εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ μὲν τοί-
 νυν, οὐδ' ἂν πέντε μηνῶν μισθὸς μέλλῃ εἶναι, συστρατεύαι-

μην ἄν ἄνευ Ξενοφῶντος." Καὶ ὁ Φρυνίσκος καὶ Κλειάνωρ συνωμολόγουν Τιμασίῳ.

Ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης ἐλοιδορεῖ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην, ὅτι οὐ παρ-
 ρεκάλει καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρακαλοῦσιν αὐ-
 5 τὸν μόνον. Ὁ δὲ γνούς τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τὴν πανουργίαν,
 ὅτι βούλοιο αὐτὸν διαβάλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατη-
 γούς, παρέρχεται λαβὼν τοὺς τε στρατηγούς πάντας καὶ
 τοὺς λοχαγούς. Καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπέσθησαν, συνεστρα-
 τεύοντο, καὶ ἀφικνουῦνται, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον, διὰ
 10 τῶν Μελινοφάγων κυλουμένων Θρακῶν, εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησ-
 σόν. Ἐνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντων πλεουσῶν νηῶν πολλὰ
 ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι· τέναγος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πάμπολυ
 τῆς θαλάττης. Καὶ οἱ Θραῖκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες,
 στήλας ὀρισάμενοι, τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἔκαστοι ἐκπίπτοντα λή-
 15 ζονται· τίως δ' ἐλέγοντο, πρὶν ὀρίσασθαι, ἀρπάζοντες πολ-
 λοι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποθνήσκειν. Ἐνταῦθα εὐρίσκοντο πολ-
 λαὶ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλὰ δὲ βίβλοι, καὶ
 τᾶλλα πολλά, ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγουσιν.
 Ἐντεῦθεν ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι, ἀπήρσαν πάλιν. Ἐνθα
 20 δὴ Σεύθης εἶχε στρατεύμα ἡδὴ πλέον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· ἔκ τε
 γὰρ Ὀδρυσῶν πολὺ ἔτι πλείους καταβεβήκεισαν, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ
 πειθόμενοι συνεστρατεύοντο. Κατηυλίσθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πε-
 δίῳ ὑπὲρ Σηλυβρίας, ὅσον πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχοντες
 τῆς θαλάττης. Καὶ μισθὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς πω ἐφαίνετο· πρὸς
 25 δὲ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οἱ τε στρατιῶται παγχαλεπῶς εἶχον, ὃ
 τε Σεύθης οὐκέτι οἰκείως δέκετο, ἀλλ' ὅποτε συγγενέσθαι
 αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἔλθοι, πολλὰ ἤδη ἀσχολία ἐφαίνοντο.

[Κεφάλαιον 5'.]

Ἐν [δὲ] τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, σχεδὸν ἤδη δύο μηνῶν ὄντων, ἀφικνοῦνται Χαρμίδης τε ὁ Λάκων καὶ Πολύνεικος πυρὰ Θίμβρωνος· καὶ λίσσονται, ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ στρατεύεσθαι [ὥς] ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ Θίμβρων ἐκπέπλευκεν ὡς πολεμήσων· καὶ δεῖται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ λέγει, ὅτι θάρκεος ἐκάστῃ ἴσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός, καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς διμοιρία, καὶ τοῖς σιγατηγοῖς τετραμοιρία. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθύς ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, πυθόμενος, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἤκουσι, λέγει τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅτι κάλλιστον γιγνέσθαι· “Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέονται 10 τοῦ στρατεύματος, σὺ δὲ οὐκέτι δέη· ἀποδιδοὺς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῖς χαρεῖ, σὲ δὲ οὐκέτι ἀπαιτήσονται τὸν μισθόν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας.”

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης, κелеύει παρήγειν· καὶ ἐπεὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἤκουσι, λέγει, ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα 15 ἀποδίδωσι, φίλος τε καὶ σύμμαχος βούλεται εἶναι· καλεῖ τε αὐτούς ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ. Καὶ ἐξίνιζε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Ξενοφῶντα δὲ οὐ καλεῖ, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οὐδένα. Ἐρωτῶντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη Ξενοφῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο, “ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἴη οὐ κακός, φιλοστρατιώτης δὲ· καὶ 20 διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ.” Καὶ οὐ εἶπον· “Ἄλλ' ἢ δημαγωγὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοὺς ἄνδρας;” Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, “Ἰάνν μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη. “Ἄρ' οὖν,” ἔφασαν, “μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐναντιώσεται περὶ τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς;” “Ἄλλ' ἢν ὑμεῖς,” ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, “συλλέξαντες αὐτοὺς ὑπόσχησθε τὸν 25 μισθόν, ὀλίγον ἐκείνῳ προσχόντες ἀποδραμεῖντα σὺν ὑμῖν.” “Πῶς ἂν οὖν,” ἔφασαν, “ἡμῖν συλλεγεῖν;” “Ἀύριον ὑμᾶς,” ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, “πρῶτ' ἄξιμεν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ οἶδα,” ἔφη, “ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν ὑμᾶς ἴδωσιν, ἄσμενοι συνδραμεῖνται.” Αὕτη μὲν [οὖν] ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτως ἐληξε. 30

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς Λάκωνας
 Σεύθης τε καὶ Ἰσρακλείδης, καὶ συλλέγεται ἡ στρατιά· τὼ
 δὲ Λάκωνα ἐλεγέτην, “ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ πολεμῆν
 Τισσαφέρνει, τῷ ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσαντι· ἦν οὖν ἔητε σὺν ἡμῖν,
 5 τὸν τε ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσεσθε, καὶ δαρεικὸν ἕκαστος οἴσει τοῦ
 μηνὸς ὑμῶν· λοχαγὸς δὲ τὸ διπλοῦν· στρατηγὸς δὲ τὸ τε-
 τραπλοῦν.” Καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἄσμενοί τε ἤκουσαν, καὶ
 εὐθύς ἀνίσταται τις τῶν Ἀρκάδων, τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος κατη-
 γορήσων. Παρῇν δὲ καὶ Σεύθης, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, τί
 10 *πραχθήσεται· καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ εἰστήκει, ἔχων [τὸν] ἐρμηνεῖα·*
οὐνίει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἑλληνιστὶ τὰ πλεῖστα. Ἐνθα-δὴ λέ-
 γει ὁ Ἀρκάς· “Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ πά-
 λαι ἂν ἦμεν παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφῶν δεῦρο ἡμᾶς πείσας
 ἀπήγαγεν· ἐνθα δὲ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν δειρὸν χεῖμῶνα στρατευσό-
 15 μενοι καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν πεπάμεθα· ὁ δὲ τοὺς
 ἡμετέρους πόνοους ἔχει· καὶ Σεύθης ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐκείνον πε-
 πλούτικεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀποστερεῖ τὸν μισθόν· ὥστε,” ὃ γε πρῶ-
 τος λέγων, “ἐγὼ μὲν,” [ἔφη,] “εἰ τοῦτον ἴδοιμι καταλευ-
 σθέντα, καὶ δόντα δίκην, ὣν ἡμᾶς περιεῖλε, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν
 20 ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν [ἂν] ἔτι τοῖς πεπονημένοις
 ἄχθεσθαι.” Μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη ὁμοίως, καὶ ἄλλος.
 Ἐκ δὲ τούτων Ξενοφῶν ἔλεξεν ὥδε·

“Ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἀνθρώπων ὄντα προςδοκᾶν δεῖ,
 ὁπότε γε καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν [μὲν] ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίας ἔχω, ἐν ᾧ πλεί-
 25 στην προθυμίᾳ ἐμαυτῷ γε δοκῶ συνειδέναι περὶ ὑμᾶς πα-
 ρεσχημένους. Ἀπειραπόμην μὲν γε ἤδη οἴκαδε ὠρμημένος,
 οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, οὐ τοι πυνθανόμενος ὑμᾶς εὖ πράττειν,
 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀκούων ἐν ἀπόροις εἶναι, ὥς ὠφελήσω, εἴ τι
 δυκαίμην. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἤλθον, Σεύθου τουτουῖ πολλοὺς ἀγγέ-
 30 λους πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπισχνουμένου μοι, εἰ
 πείσαιμι ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπιχείρησα
 ποιῆν, ὥς αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, ἦγον δ' ὅθεν ὤμην τά-
 χιστ' ἂν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι. Ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ

βέλτιστα ἐνόμιζον ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ ὑμᾶς ᾗδειν βορλομένους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρισταρχος, ἐλθὼν σὺν τριήρεσιν, ἐκώλυσε διαπλεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἐκ τούτου, ὅπερ εἰκὸς δήπου ἦν, συνέλεξα ὑμᾶς, ὅπως βολευσάμεθα, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. Οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς ἀκούοντες μὲν Ἀρισταρχοῦ ἐπιταπτοντος ὑμῖν εἰς Χερσόνησον πορεύ- 5 εσθαι, ἀκούοντες δὲ Σεύθου πείθοντος ἑαυτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι, πάντες μὲν εἰλέγετε σὺν Σεύθῃ εἶναι, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσασθε ταῦτα. Τί οὖν ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα ἡδίκησα, ἀγαγὼν ὑμᾶς, ἐνθα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐδόκει; Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ψεύδεσθαι ἤρξατο Σεύθης περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐπαινώ αὐτόν, δικαί- 10 ως ἂν με καὶ αἰτιῶσθε καὶ μισοῖτε· εἰ δὲ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα φίλος ὢν, νῦν πάντων διαφορωτάτος εἰμι, πῶς ἂν ἔτι δικαίως, αἰρούμενος ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ Σεύθου, ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίαν ἔχοιμι περὶ ὧν πρὸς τούτον διαφέρομαι; Ἄλλ' εἵποιτε ἂν, ὅτι ἔξεσι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχοντα παρὰ Σεύθου τεχνᾷεν. 15 Οὐκοῦν δῆλον τοῦτό γε, ὅτι, εἴπερ ἐμοὶ ἐτίλει τι Σεύθης, οὐχ οὕτως ἐτίλει δήπου, ὥς ὢν τε ἐμοὶ δοίη στεροῖτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἀποτίσειεν; Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, εἰ ἐδίδου, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἂν ἐδίδου, ὅπως ἐμοὶ δοὺς μείον, μὴ ἀποδοίη ὑμῖν τὸ πλεῖον. Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν οἴεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα μα- 20 ταίαν ταύτην τὴν πράξιν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, ἐὰν πράττετε αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. Δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι Σεύθης, εἰ ἔχω τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπαιτήσῃ με, καὶ ἀπαιτήσῃ μέντοι δικαίως, ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιῶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτῷ, ἐφ' ἣ ἐθωροδόκουν. Ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ μοι δοκῶ δεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχειν· ὁμνύω γὰρ ὑμῖν 25 θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, μηδὲ ἃ ἐμοὶ ἰδίᾳ ὑπέσχετο Σεύθης ἔχειν· πάρεστι δὲ αὐτός, καὶ ἀκούων σύννοιδέ μοι, εἰ ἐπιορκῶ. Ἴνα δὲ μᾶλλον θαναμάσῃτε, συνεπόμνυμι, μηδὲ ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἔλαβον εἰληφέναι, μὴ τοίνυν μηδ' ὅσα τῶν λοχαγῶν ἔνιοι. Καὶ τί δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν; Ὡμην, ὧ 30 ἄνδρες, ὅσα μᾶλλον συμφέροίμι τούτῳ τὴν τότε πενίαν, τοσοῦτ' μᾶλλον αὐτὸν φίλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὅποτε δυνασθῇ. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἅμα τε αὐτὸν ὁρῶ εὖ πράττοντα, καὶ γιγνώσκω δὴ

αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην. Εἶποι δὴ τις ἄν· 'Οὐκουν αἰσχύνῃ
οὕτω μωρῶς ἔξαπατῶμενος;' Ναὶ μὰ Δία ἡσχυνόμην μέν-
τοι, εἰ ὑπὸ πολέμιον γε ὄντιος ἐξηπατήθην· φίλῳ δ' ὄντι
ἔξαπατῶν αἰσχίον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἔξαπαταῖσθαι. Ἐπεὶ, εἴ
5 γε πρὸς φίλους ἐστὶ φυλακή, πᾶσαν οἶδα ὑμᾶς φυλαξαμέ-
νους, ὡς μὴ παρῆσχειν τούτῳ πρόφασιν δικαίαν, μὴ ἀποδι-
δόναι ὑμῖν, ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδικήσαμεν τοῦτον οὐ-
δέν, οὔτε κατεβλακεύσαμεν τὰ τούτου, οὐδὲ μὴ κατεδειλιά-
σαμεν οὐδέν, ἐφ' ὅ τι ἡμᾶς οὗτος παρεκάλεισεν. 'Ἄλλῃ,'
10 φαίητε ἄν, 'ἔδει τὰ ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν, ὡς μηδὲ, εἰ ἐβού-
λετο, ἐδύνατο ἂν ταῦτα ἔξαπατῶν.' Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ἀκού-
σατε, ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἶπον τούτου ἐναντίον, εἰ μὴ μοι
παντάπασιν ἀγνώμονες ἐδόκεῖτε εἶναι, ἢ λίαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀχά-
ριστοι. Ἀναμνήσθητε γάρ, ἐν ποίοις τισὶν ὄντες πράγμα-
15 σιν ἐτυγχάνετε, ἐξ ὧν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον πρὸς Σειθῶν.
Οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέφινθον, εἰ προσήτε τῇ πόλει, Ἀρίσταρχος
ὑμᾶς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος οὐκ εἴα εἰσιέναι, ἀποκλείσας τὰς πύ-
λας· ὑπαίθριοι δὲ ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετε· μέσος δὲ χειμῶν
ἦν· ἀγορᾷ δὲ ἐχρῆσθε, σπάνια μὲν ὀρῶντες τὰ εἴνια, σπάνια
20 δὲ ἔχοντες, ὅτων ὠνήσεσθε. Ἀνάγκη δὲ ἦν μένειν ἐπὶ Θρά-
κης (τριήρεις γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσαι ἐκώλυνον διαπλεῖν)· εἰ δὲ μέ-
νοι τις, ἐν πολέμῳ χώρᾳ εἶναι, ἔνθα πολλοὶ μὲν ἱππεῖς
ἐναντίοι ἦσαν, πολλοὶ δὲ πελτασταί. Ἡμῖν δὲ ὀπλιτικὸν
μὲν ἦν, ὧ, ἀθρόοι μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας, ὥσως ἂν ἐδω-
25 νάμεθα σῖτον λαμβάνειν οὐδέν τι ἄφθονον· ὅτω δὲ διώ-
κοντες ἂν ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἢ πρόβατα κατελαμβάνομεν, οὐκ ἦν
ἡμῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἱππικὸν οὔτε πελταστικὸν ἔτι ἐγὼ συνεστη-
κὸς κατέλαβον παρ' ὑμῖν. Εἰ οὖν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ὄν-
των ὑμῶν, μηδ' ὄντιναοῦν μισθὸν προσαιτήσας, Σείθην
30 σύμμαχον ὑμῖν προσέλαβον, ἔχοντα [καὶ] ἱππέας καὶ πελ-
ταστάς, ὧν ὑμεῖς προσεδεῖσθε, [ἢ] κακῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν ὑμῖν
βεβουλευῆσθαι πρὸ ὑμῶν; Τούτων γὰρ δῆπου κοινωνή-
σαντες, καὶ σῖτον ἀφθονώτερον ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἐθρίσκετε,

διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς Θοῤῃκας κατὰ σπουδὴν μᾶλλον
 φεύγειν· καὶ προβάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων μᾶλλον μετέσχετε.
 Καὶ πολέμιον οὐκ εἶμι ἐωρῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἱππικὸν
 ἡμῖν προσεγένετο· τέως δὲ θαρσαλέως ἡμῖν ἐφείκοτο οἱ
 πολέμιοι καὶ ἱππικῷ καὶ πελταστικῷ, κωλύοντες μηδαμῇ
 καὶ ὀλίγους ἀποσκειδαννυμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθονώτερα
 ἡμᾶς πορίζεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαράχων ὑμῶν ταύτην τὴν
 ἀσφάλειαν, μὴ πάνυ πολὺν μισθὸν προστελεῖ τῆς ἀσφαλείας,
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πάθημα τὸ σχετλῶν; καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' αὖ
 οἴεσθε χρῆναι ζῶντα ἐμὲ εἶναι; Νῦν δὲ δὴ πῶς ἀπέρ- 10
 χεσθε; Οὐ διαχειμάσαντες μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις,
 περιττὸν δ' ἔχοντες τοῦτο, εἴ τι ἐλάβετε παρὰ Σεύθου; τὰ
 γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων ἰδοπανᾶτε· καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντες, οὔτε
 ἀνδρας ἐπείδετε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας, οὔτε ζῶντας ἀπε-
 βάλετε. Εἰ δὲ τι καλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους 15
 ἐπέπρακτο ὑμῖν, οὐ καὶ ἐκεῖνο σὼν ἔχετε, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνοις
 νῦν ἄλλην εὐκλειαν προσειλήφατε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ
 Θοῤῃκας, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεύεσθε, κρατήσαντες; Ἐγὼ μὲν
 ὑμᾶς φημὶ δικαίως εἶναι, ὧν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, τούτων τοῖς
 θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι, ὥς ἀγαθῶν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα 20
 τοιαῦτα. Ἄγετε δὲ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ σκέψασθε
 ὡς ἔχει. Ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ὅτε πρότερον ἀπῆρα οἶκαδε, ἔχων
 μὲν ἔπαινον πολὺν πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀπεπορευόμεν, ἔχων δὲ δι'
 ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εὐκλειαν· ἐπιστενύμεν
 δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· οὐ γὰρ εἴμην με ἔπεμπον πάλιν πρὸς 25
 ὑμᾶς. Νῦν δ' ἀπέρχομαι, πρὸς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑφ'
 ὑμῶν διαβεβλημένος, Σεύθῃ δὲ ἀπηχθημένος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν,
 ὃν ἡλπίζον, εὖ ποιήσας μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἀποστροφὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ
 καλὴν καὶ παισίν, εἰ γένοιτο, καταδιήσεσθαι. Τμείς
 δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἀπηχθημαί τε πλεῖστα, καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ 30
 κρείττοσιν ἐμαυτοῦ, πραγματευόμενός τε οὐδὲ νῦν πᾶσι
 παύμαι ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν, τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχετε
 περὶ ἐμοῦ. Ἄλλ' ἔχετε μὲν με, οὔτε φεύγοντα λαβόντες,

οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκοντα· ἦν δὲ ποιήσητε, ἃ λέγετε, ἴστε, ὅτι
 ἄνδρα κατακεκάνυτες ἔσεσθε, πολλὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸ ὑμῶν
 ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πονήσαντα καὶ κινδυνεύ-
 5 σάντα, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος· θεῶν δὲ ἵλεων
 ὄντων καὶ τροπαία βαρβάρων πολλὰ δὴ σὺν ὑμῖν στησάμε-
 ρον· ὅπως δὲ γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδενὶ πολέμιοι γένοισθε,
 πᾶν ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην, πρὸς ὑμᾶς διατεινόμενον. Καὶ
 γὰρ οὖν νῦν ὑμῖν ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι, ὅποι ἂν
 ἐλθῃτε, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Τρεῖς δέ, ὅτι
 10 πολλὴ ὑμῖν εὐπορία φαίνεται, καὶ πλεῖτε, ἔνθα δὴ ἐπιθυ-
 μεῖτε πάσαι, δέονται δὲ ὑμῶν οἱ [τὸ] μέγιστον δυνάμενοι,
 μισθὸς δὲ φαίνεται, ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἤκουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ
 κράτιστοι νομιζόμενοι εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καιρὸς δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι,
 ὡς τάχιστα ἐμὲ κατακαλεῖν; Οὐ μὲν, ὅτι γε ἐν τοῖς ἀπό-
 15 ροῖς ἤμεν, ὃ πάντων μνημονικώτατοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα
 ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτε, καὶ αἰεὶ ὡς εὐεργέτου μεμνησθαι ὑπισχνείσθε.
 Οὐ μέντοι ἀγνώμονες οὐδ' οὗτοί εἰσιν, οἱ νῦν ἤκοντες ἐφ'
 ὑμᾶς· ὥστε, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδὲ τούτοις δοκεῖτε βελτίονες
 εἶναι, τοιοῦτοι ὄντες περὶ ἐμέ." Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

20 Χαρμίτης δέ, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·
 "Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ μέντοι, ὃ ἄνδρες, οὐ δικαίως γε δοκεῖτε τῷ ἄν-
 δρὶ τούτῳ χαλεπαίνειν· ἔχω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρή-
 σαι· Σεύθης γάρ, ἐρωτῶντος ἐμοῦ καὶ Πολυνείκου περὶ
 Ξενοφῶντος, τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχε μίμψασθαι,
 25 ἄγαν δὲ φιλοστρατιώτην ἔφη αὐτὸν εἶναι· διὸ καὶ χεῖρον
 αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς ἡμῶν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ πρὸς αὐ-
 τοῦ." Ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Εὐρύλοχος [ὁ] Λουσιάτης Ἀρ-
 κὰς εἶπε· "Δοκεῖ γέ μοι, ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτο
 ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἡμῶν στρατηγῆσαι, παρὰ Σεύθου ἡμῖν τὸν
 30 μισθὸν ἀναπρῶξαι ἢ ἐκόντος ἢ ἄκοντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον
 ἡμᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν." Πολυκράτης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν ἀναστὰς
 ὑπὲρ Ξενοφῶντος· "Ὅρῳ γε μὴν, ὃ ἄνδρες," ἔφη, "καὶ
 Ἡρακλείδην ἐνταῦθα παρόντα, ὃ παραλαβὼν τὰ χρήματα,

ἃ ἡμεῖς ἐπονησαμεν, ταῦτα ἀποδόμενος, οὔτε Στεῦθι ἀπέδωκεν, οὔτε ἡμῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κλέψας πέπταται. "Ἦν οἷν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξέμεθα αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὗτός γε," ἔφη, "Θράξ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνα ὦν Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖ."

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρακλείδης μάλα ἐξεπλάγῃ· καὶ πρὸς ἐλθὼν τῷ Στεῦθι λέγει· "Ἡμεῖς, ἦν σωφρονῶμεν, ἅπι-
μεν ἐνταῦθεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας." Καὶ ἀναβάντες
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἔχοντο ἀπελαύνοντες εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρα-
τόπεδον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθεν Στεῦθης πέμπει Ἀβροξέιλην τὸν
ἑαυτοῦ ἐρμηνεῖα πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν κατα- 10
μεῖναι παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ἔχοντα χιλίους ὀπλίτας· καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται
αὐτῷ ἀποδώσειν τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα,
ἃ ὑπέσχετο. Καὶ ἐν ἀποφύγῃ ποιησάμενος, λέγει, ὅτι
ἀκήκοι Πολυνείκου, ὥς, εἰ ὑποχείριος ἔσται Λακεδαιμονί-
οις, σαφῶς ἀποθανοῖτο ὑπὸ Θίμβρωνος. Ἐπίστελλον δὲ 15
ταῦτα καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι πολλοὶ [ξένοι] τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὥς διαβε-
βλημένος εἶη, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δεοί. Ὁ δ' ἀκούων ταῦτα,
δύο ἱερεῖα λαβὼν, ἔθυσε τῷ Δίῃ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, πότερὰ οἱ λῶϊον
καὶ ἄμεινον εἶη μένειν παρὰ Στεῦθι, ἐφ' οἷς Στεῦθης λέγει,
ἣ ἀπίσται σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι. Ἀναιρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπέναι. 20

Κεφάλαιον ζ'.

Ἐνταῦθεν Στεῦθης μὲν ἀπιστρατοπεδεύσατο προσωτέρω·
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας, ὅθεν ἔμελλον πλείστα
ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤξειν. Αἱ δὲ κώμαι αὗται
ἦσαν δεδομένοι ὑπὸ Στεῦθου Μηδοσάδῃ. Ὅρων οὖν ὁ Μη-
δοσάδης δαπαναίμενα τὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, 25
χαλεπῶς ἔφερε· καὶ λαβὼν ἄνδρα Ὀδρύσην, δυνατωτάτον
τῶν ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκότων, καὶ ἱππέας ὅσον τριάκοντα,
ἔρχεται καὶ προκαλεῖται Ξενοφῶντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρα-
τεύματος· καὶ ὅς, λαβὼν τινος τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ ἄλλου,

[τινας] τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, προσέρχεται. Ἐνθα δὲ λέγει ὁ Μηδουάδης· “ Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τὰς ἡμετέρας κόμας περιθούντες. Προλέγομεν οὖν ὑμῖν, ἐγὼ τε ὑπὲρ Σεύθου, καὶ ὁδε ὁ ἀνὴρ, παρὰ Μηδόκου ἦκων τοῦ ἄνω βασιλείως
6 ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐὺν ποιῆτε κακῶς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, ὥς πολέμιους ἀλεξή-
σάμεθα.”

Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἀκούσας ταῦτα, εἶπεν· “ Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγοντι καὶ ἀπακρίνασθαι χαλεπόν· τοῦδε δὲ ἔνεκα
10 τοῦ νεανίσκου λέξω, ἵν’ εἰδῇ, οἷαί τε ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, καὶ οἷοι ἡμεῖς. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ,” ἔφη, “ πρὶν φίλοι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν, ἐπορευόμεθα διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ὅποι ἐβουλόμεθα, ἢν μὲν ἐθέλοισιν πορθοῦντες, ἢν δ’ ἐθέλοισιν καταναίοντες. Καὶ σύ, ὅποτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔλθοις πρεσβεύων, ἡλλίξου παρ’
15 ἡμῖν, οὐδένα φοβούμενος τῶν πολέμων. Ἑμῶς δὲ οὐκ ἔτε εἰς τήνδε τὴν χώραν, ἢ, εἰ ποτε ἔλθοιτε, ὥς ἐν κρείττωνον χώραν ἡλλίξεσθε ἐγκυαλινωμένοις τοῖς ἵπποις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν φίλοι ἐγένεσθε, καὶ δι’ ἡμᾶς σὺν θεοῖς ἔχετε τήνδε τὴν χώραν, νῦν δὴ ἐξελαύνετε ἡμᾶς ἐκ [ταύτης] τῆς χώρας; ἢν
20 παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐκόντων κατὰ κῆρτος παρελάβετε· ὥς γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, οἱ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνειν. Καὶ οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοὺς καὶ εὖ ποιήσας, ἀνθ’ ὧν εὖ ἔπαυες, ἀξιοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀποπορευομένους ἡμᾶς οὐδ’ ἐναυλισθῆναι, ὅσον δύνασαι, ἐπιτρέπεις. Καὶ ταῦτα
25 λέγων οὔτε θεοὺς αἰσχύνῃ οὔτε τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅς νῦν μὲν σε ὀρεῖ πλουτοῦντα, πρὶν δὲ ἡμῖν φίλον γενέσθαι, ἀπὸ λη-
στείας τὸν βίον ἔχοντα, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔφησθα. Ἄτάρ τί καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ λεγεις ταῦτα;” ἔφη· “ οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἔτι ἄρχω, ἀλλὰ Ἀσκεδαίμόνιοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε τὸ στράτευμα ἀπαγαγεῖν,
30 οὐδὲν ἐμέ παρακαλέσαντες, ὃ θαυμαστότατοι, ὅπως, ὥς περ ἀπηχθάνομεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦγον, οὕτω καὶ χαρι-
σαίμην νῦν ἀποδιδούς.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ὀδρύσης, εἶπεν· “ Ἐγὼ μὲν,

ὦ Μηδόσαδες, κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνῃς, ἀκούων ταῦτα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν πρόσθεν ἠπιστάμην, οὐδ' ἂν συνηκολούθησά σοι· καὶ νῦν ἄπειμι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν Μιθδοκός με ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξελεύνομι τοὺς ἐνεργέτας." Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀναβύς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλανε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι ἵππεις, πλὴν τετάρων, ἣ πέντε. Ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης, ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χώρα πορθουμένη, ἐκέλευε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καλίσαι τὸ Λακεδαιμονίῳ. Ὁ δ' ἀπολαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδευοτάτους, προσῆλθε τῷ Χαρμίνῳ καὶ τῷ Πολυνείκῳ, καὶ ἔλεξεν, ὅτι καλεῖ αὐτοὺς Μηδοσάδης, προειρῶν ἄπερ αὐτῷ, ἀπίνειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. "Οἶμαι ἂν οὖν," ἔφη, "ὑμᾶς ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν, εἰ εἴποιτε, ὅτι δεδίκηται ὑμῶν ἡ στρατιὰ συναναπράξαι τὸν μισθόν ἢ παρὰ ἐκόντος ἢ παρὰ ἄκοντος Σεύθου· καὶ ὅτι τούτων τυγχόντες, προθύμως [μὲν] ἂν συνέπιδθαι ὑμῖν φασί· καὶ ὅτι δίκαια ὑμῖν δοκοῦσι λέγειν· καὶ ὅτι ὑπέσχεσθε αὐτοῖς τότε ἀπίνειν, ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται." Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ταῦτα, ἔφασαν ἔρειν, καὶ ἄλλα, ὅποια ἂν δύνανται κράτιστα· καὶ εὐθύς ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. Ἐλθόντων δὲ ἔλεξε Χαρμῖνος· "Εἰ μὲν οὐ τι ἔχεις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς πρὸς σὲ ἔχομεν." Ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης μάλα ὑφειμένως· "Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν," ἔφη, "λέγω, καὶ Σεύθης τὰ αὐτά, ὅτι ἀξιούμεν, τοὺς φίλους ἡμῖν γεγεννημένους μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν τούτους κακῶς ποιῇτε, ἡμᾶς ἤδη ποιεῖτε· ἡμετέροι γάρ εἰσιν." "Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν," ἔφασαν οἱ Λάκωνες, "ἀπιομεν ἂν, ὅποτε τὸν μισθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῖν καταπράξαντες· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρχόμεθα μὲν καὶ νῦν βοηθήσοντες τούτοις, καὶ τιμωρησάμενοι ἄνδρας, οἱ τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἠδίκησαν· ἣν δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτοι ἦτε, ἐνθ' ἐνδε ἀρξόμεθα τὰ δίκαια λαμβάνειν." Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· "Ἐθέλοιτε δ' ἂν, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, τούτοις ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειδὴ φατὲ φίλους εἶναι ὑμῖν, ἐν ᾧ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσμέν, ὁπότ' ἂν ψηφίσωνται, εἴθ' "

ἡμᾶς προσηῆκεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπιέναι, εἴθ' ἡμᾶς ;" Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔφη· ἐκέλευε δὲ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν τῷ Λάκωνε παρὰ Σεύθην περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ οἰεσθαι ἂν Σεύθην πείσαι· εἰ δὲ μή, Ξενοφῶντα σὺν αὐτῷ πέμπειν, καὶ
 6 συμπράξειν ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἐδεῖτο δὲ τὰς κόμας μὴ καίειν.
 Ἐντεῦθεν πέμπουσι τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ, οἷ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτηδεότατοι εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν λέγει πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην·

“Οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσων, ὦ Σεύθη, πάρειμι, ἀλλὰ διδάξων,
 10 ὥς ἂν δύνωμαι, ὥς οὐ δικαίως μοι ἡχθέσθης, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπῆλθον σε, ἃ ὑπέσχον αὐτοῖς προθύμως· σοὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε οὐχ ἥττον ἐνόμιζον εἶναι συμφέρον ἀποδοῦναι, ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀπολαβεῖν. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς τὸ φανερόν σε τούτους καταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ γε βασιλεῖα
 15 σε ἐποίησαν πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐστὶ λανθάνειν, οὔτε ἦν τι καλόν, οὔτε ἦν τι αἰσχρὸν ποιήσης. Τοιοῦτῳ δ' ὄντι ἀνδρὶ μέγα μὲν μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ δοκεῖν ἀχαρίστως ἀποπέμψασθαι ἄνδρας εὐεργέτας, μέγα δ' , εὐ ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἑξακισχιλίων ἀνθρώπων· τὸ δὲ μέγι-
 20 στον, μηδαμῶς ἄπιστον σαυτὸν καταστήσαι, ὃ τι λέγεις. Ὅρῳ γάρ, τῶν μὲν ἀπίστων ματαίους καὶ ἀδυνάτους καὶ ἀτίμους τοὺς λόγους πλανωμένους· οἱ δ' ἂν φανεροὶ ᾧσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦντες, τούτων οἱ λόγοι, ἦν τι δέωνται, οὐδὲν μείον δύνανται ἀνύσασθαι, ἢ ἄλλων ἢ βία· ἦν τε τινὰ σωφρονίζειν
 25 βούλωνται, γινώσκω τὰς τούτων ἀπειλὰς οὐχ ἥττον σωφρονιζούσας, ἢ ἄλλων τὰς ἡδη κολάσεις· ἦν τέ τῷ τι ὑπισχνῶνται οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν μείον διαπράττονται, ἢ [οἱ] ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα διδόντες. Ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ καὶ σύ, τί προτελέσας ἡμῖν συμμαχούς ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες. Οἶσθ', ὅτι
 30 οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσειν, ἃ ἔλεγες, ἐπῆρας τούτους ἀνθρώπους συστρατεύσασθαι τε καὶ συγκατεργάσασθαι σοὶ ἀρχήν, οὐ τριάκοντα μόνον ἄξιαν ταλάντων, ὅσα οἶονται δεῖν οὗτοι νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλαπλασίῳ. Οὐ-

κοῦν τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον, τὸ πιστεύεσθαι σε, τὸ καὶ τὴν βα-
 σιλείην σοι κατεργασάμενον, τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὸ σοῦ
 πιπράσκειται. Ἴθι δὴ, ἀναμνήσθητι, πῶς μῆγα ἡγοῦ τότῃ
 καταπράξασθαι, ὃ νῦν κατασφραγίσμενος ἔχεις. Ἐγὼ μὲν
 εἶδ', ὅτι εὖτε ἄν, τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα μᾶλλον σοι καταπρα- 5
 χθῆναι, ἢ πολλαπλάσια τούτων τῶν χρημάτων γενέσθαι.
 Ἔμοι τοίνυν μείζον βλάβος καὶ αἴσχιον δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ πῦτα
 νῦν μὴ κατασχεῖν, ἢ τότε μὴ λαβεῖν, ὅση περ χαλεπώτερον
 ἐκ πλουτοῦ πένητα γενέσθαι, ἢ [τὴν] ἀρχὴν μὴ πλουτῆσαι·
 καὶ ὅση λυπηρότερον ἐκ βασιλείας ἰδιώτην φανῆναι, ἢ ἀρχὴν 10
 μὴ βασίλευσαι. Οὐκοῦν ἐπίστασαι μὲν, ὅτι οἱ νῦν σοι ὑπὲρ-
 κοοὶ γερόμενοι οὐ φιλία τῇ σῇ ἐπέσθησαν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἄρχεισθαι,
 ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη· καὶ ὅτι ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἄν πάλιν ἐλευθεροὶ γίγνε-
 σθαι, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς φόβος κατέχοι. Ποτίως οὖν οὔτε, μάλ-
 λον ἢ φοβεῖσθαι τε αὐτούς, καὶ φρονεῖν τὰ πρὸς σέ, εἰ ὁρᾷν 15
 σοι τοὺς στρατιώτας οὕτω διακειμένους, ὥς νῦν τε μένοντας
 ἄν, εἰ σὺ κελύεις, αὐτοὶς τ' ἂν ταχὺ ἐλθόντας, εἰ δέοι, ἄλ-
 λους τε, τούτων περὶ σοῦ ἀκούοντας πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, ταχὺ ἂν
 σοι, ὅποτε βούλοιο, παραγενέσθαι· ἢ εἰ καταδοξάσαιαν,
 μήτε ἂν ἄλλους σοι ἐλθεῖν, δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐκ τῶν νῦν γιγνέ- 20
 μένων, τούτους τε αὐτοὺς εὐνουστέρους εἶναι ἢ σοί; Ἀλλὰ
 μὴν οὐδὲν πλήθει γε ἡμῶν λειφθέντες ὑπεῖξάν σοι, ἀλλὰ
 προστατῶν ἀπορία. Οὐκοῦν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος, μὴ
 λάβωαι προατάτας πᾶς αὐτῶν τούτων, οἱ νομίζουσιν ὑπὸ
 σοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ τούτων κρείττονας τοὺς Λακεδαιμο- 25
 νίους, ἐὰν οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται ὑπισχνῶνται προθυμότερον
 αὐτοῖς συστρατεύεσθαι, ἐὰν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ ἀναπράξωσιν, οἱ
 δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς, συναίνεσω-
 αιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα. Ὅτι γὰρ μὴν οἱ ὑπὸ σοὶ Θερᾶκες γερόμε-
 νοι πολὺ ἂν προθυμότερον ἵοιεν ἐπὶ σε ἢ σὺν σοί, οὐκ ἄδη- 30
 λον· σοῦ μὲν γὰρ κρατοῦντος, δουλεία ὑπάρχει αὐτοῖς· κρα-
 τουμένου δὲ σοῦ, ἐλευθερία. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας προνοεῖ-
 σθαι ἤδη τι δεῖ ὥς σῆς οὐσας, ποτίως ἂν οὔτε ἀπαθῇ κα-

κῶν αὐτὴν εἶναι μᾶλλον, εἰ οὗτοι οἱ στρατιῶται, ἀπολαβόν-
 τες ἃ ἐγκαλοῦσιν, εἰρήνην καταλιπόντες οἰχοιντο, ἢ εἰ οὗτοί
 τε μένοιεν ὡς ἐν πολεμίᾳ, σύ τε ἄλλους πειρώσο πλείονας τού-
 των ἔχων ἀντιστρατοπεδεύεσθαι, δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ;
 6 Ἀργύριον δὲ ποτέρως ἂν πλεῖον ἀναλωθείη, εἰ τούτοις τὸ
 ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδοθείη, ἢ εἰ ταῦτά τε ὀφείλοιο, ἄλλους τε
 κρείττους τούτων δέοι σε μισθοῦσθαι ; Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἡρα-
 κλείδῃ, ὡς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐδήλου, πάμπλου τούτο δοκεῖ τὸ ἀργύ-
 ριον εἶναι. Ἢ μὴν πολὺ γέ ἐστιν ἔλαττον νῦν σοι καὶ λαβεῖν
 10 τούτο καὶ ἀποδοῦναι, ἢ, πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ, τὸ δέ-
 κατον τούτου μέρους. Οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρίζων τὸ
 πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τοῦ τε ἀποδιδόντος καὶ
 τοῦ λαμβάνοντος. Σοὶ δὲ νῦν ἡ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσοδος
 πλείων ἐστίν, ἢ ἔμπροσθεν τὰ παρόντα πάντα, ἃ ἐκίκτησο.
 15 Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Σεύθῃ, ταῦτα ὡς φίλου ὄντος σου προανοοῦμην,
 ὅπως σύ τε ἄξιος δοκοίης εἶναι, ὣν οἱ θεοὶ ἔδωκαν ἀγα-
 θῶν, ἐγὼ τε μὴ διαφθαρείην ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ. Εὐ γὰρ ἴσθι,
 ὅτι νῦν οὗτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν βουλόμενος ἐγὼ κακῶς ποιῆσαι θυνη-
 θείην σὺν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ, οὗτ' ἂν, εἰ σοὶ πάλιν βουλοί-
 20 μην βοηθῆσαι, ἱκανὸς ἂν γενοίμην. Οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἡ
 στρατιὰ διάκειται. Καίτοι αὐτόν σε μάρτυρα σὺν τοῖς θε-
 οῖς εἰδόσι ποιοῦμαι, ὅτι οὔτε ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς στρα-
 τιώταις οὐδέν, οὔτε ἤτησα πώποτε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τὰ ἐκείνων,
 οὔτε ἃ ὑπέσχου μοι ἀπῆτησα. Ὅμνυμι δέ σοι, μηδ' ἀποδι-
 25 δόντος διέσασθαι ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἔμελλον τὰ
 ἐαυτῶν συναπολαμβάνειν. Λίσχρὸν γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ δια-
 πεπρᾶχθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων περιῦδεῖν ἐμὲ κακῶς ἔχοντα, ἄλ-
 λως τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. Καίτοι Ἡρακλείδῃ γε
 λῆρος πάντα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον ἔχειν ἐκ παντὸς
 30 τρόπου· ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Σεύθῃ, οὐδὲν νομίζω γε ἀνδρὶ, ἄλλως
 τε καὶ ἄρχοντι, κάλλιον εἶναι κτῆμα, οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον,
 ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ γενναιότητος. Ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα
 ἔχων πλουτεῖ μὲν ὄντων φίλων πολλῶν, πλουτεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλ-

λων βουλομένων γενέσθαι· καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττων ἔχει τοὺς
 συνησθησομένους, ἐὰν δέ τι σφαλῇ, οὐ σπανίζει τῶν βοηθη-
 σόντων. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων κατέμαθες,
 ὅτι σοι ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς φίλος ἦν, μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων
 δύνασαι τοῦτο γινῶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγους
 πάντας κατανόησον· παρῆσθαι γάρ, καὶ ἤκουες, ἃ ἔλεγον
 οἱ φίλοι ἐμὲ βουλόμενοι. Κατηγόρουν μὲν γὰρ μου πρὸς
 Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς σὲ περὶ πλείονος ποιοίμην, ἢ Λακεδαι-
 μονίους· αὐτοὶ δ' ἐνεκάλουν ἐμοί, ἥς μᾶλλον μέλει μοι,
 ὅπως τὰ σὰ καλῶς ἔχοι, ἢ ὅπως τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἔφασαν δὲ καὶ 10
 δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ. Καίτοι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα πότερον οἶει,
 αὐτοὺς κακόνοιάν τινα ἐνιδόντας μοι πρὸς σὲ αἰτιάσθαι με
 ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ, ἢ προθυμίαν πολλὴν περὶ σὲ κατανοήσαν-
 τας; Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους νομίζειν, εὖνοιαν
 δεῖν ἀποκρίσθαι τούτῳ, παρ' οὗ ἂν τις δῶρα λαμβάνῃ. Σὺ 15
 δέ, πρὶν μὲν ὑπερετῆσαι τί σοι, ἐμὲ ἐδέξω ἡδέως καὶ ὁμ-
 μασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ ξινοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἔσοιτο ὑπὸ χροῦμένου
 οὐκ ἀνεπίπλασο· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπραξες, ἃ ἐβούλου, καὶ γε-
 γήνησαι, ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην, μέγιστος, νῦν οὕτω με ἄτιμον
 ὄντα ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις τολμᾷς περιορᾷν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὅτι 20
 σοι δοῖει ἀποδοῦναι, πιστεύω καὶ τὸν χρόνον διδάξειν σε,
 καὶ αὐτόν γέ σε οὐκ ἀνέξισθαι τοὺς σοὶ προεμένους εὐεργε-
 σίαν ὁρῶντά σοι ἐγκαλοῦντας. Δίομαι οὖν σου, ὅταν ἀπο-
 διδῶς, προθυμεῖσθαι ἐμὲ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοιοῦτον
 ποιῆσαι, οἷόν περ καὶ παρέλαβες.”

25

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σπύθης κατηράσατο τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ μὴ
 πάσαι ἀποδεδόσθαι τὸν μισθόν· καὶ πάντες Ἡρακλείδην
 τοῦτον ὑπώπτευσαν εἶναι· “Ἐγὼ γάρ,” ἔφη, “οὔτε διε-
 νοήθην πώποτε ἀποστερηῆσαι, ἀποδώσω τε.” Ἐντεῦθεν
 πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἀποδιδόναι βούλει, 30
 νῦν ἐγὼ σου δέομαι δι' ἐμοῦ ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν
 με διὰ σὲ ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ νῦν τε, καὶ ὅτε
 πρὸς σὲ ἀφικόμην.” Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· “Ἀλλὰ οὔτε τοῖς

στρατιώταις ἔση δι' ἐμὲ ἀτιμότερος· ἂν τε μίνης παρ' ἐμοί, χιλίους μόνους ὀπλίτας ἔχων, ἐγὼ σοι τά τε χωρία ἀποδώσω καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ἃ ὑπεσχόμην." Ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπε·
 "Τυῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐχ οἶόν τε· ἀπόπεμπε δὲ ἡμᾶς."
 5 "Καὶ μὴν," ἔφη ὁ Σεύθης, "καὶ ἀσφαλέστερόν γέ σοι οἶδα ὄν παρ' ἐμοὶ μένειν, ἢ ἀπιέναι." Ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν·
 "Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινώ· ἐμοὶ δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἶόν τε· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐντιμότερος εἴ, νόμιζε, καὶ σοι τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν ἔσσεσθαι." Ἐντεῦθεν λέγει Σεύθης· "Ἀργύ-
 10 ριον μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, ἀλλ' ἢ μικρόν τι, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι τάλαντον· βουῆς δ' ἑξακοσίους καὶ πρόσβατα εἰς τετρακισχίλια καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Τηῦτα λαβών, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους προςλαβών, ἀπιθί." Γελάσας ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· "Ἦν οὖν μὴ ἐξικνῆται ταῦτα
 15 εἰς τὸν μισθόν, τίνος τάλαντον φήσω ἔχειν; Ἄρ' οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν μοι ἐστίν, ἀπιόντά γε ἄμεινον φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς πείρους; Ἦκουες δὲ τὰς ἀπειλάς;" Τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέδωκέ τε αὐτοῖς, ἃ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ τοὺς
 20 ταῦτα ἐλάσσοντας συνέπεμψεν. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τέως μὲν ἔλεγον, ὥς Ξενοφῶν οἴχοιτο πρὸς Σεύθην οἰκήσων, καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ἀποληψόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκουον εἶδον, ἡσθησάν τε καὶ προσέθεον. Ξενοφῶν δ', ἐπεὶ εἶδε Χαρμί-
 25 ὼν καὶ Πολύνεικον. "Τυῦτα," ἔφη, "καὶ σέσωσται δι' ὑμᾶς τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ παραδίδωμι αὐτὰ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ διαθήμενοι διάδοτε τῇ στρατιᾷ." Οἱ μὲν οὖν παραλαβόντες καὶ λαφυροπώλας καταστήσαντες, ἐπώλουν, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον αἰτίαν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ οὐ προσήει, ἀλλὰ φανερὸς ἦν οἰκαδὲ πικρασκευαζόμενος· οὐ γὰρ πω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο
 30 Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. Προσελθόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, εἶδοντο μὴ ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν ἂν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ Θίμβρωνι παραδοίη.

Κεφάλαιον η'.

Ἐντεῦθεν διέπλευσαν εἰς Λάμψακον· καὶ ἀπαντᾷ τῷ
 Ξενοφῶντι Εὐκλείδης, μάντις, Φλιάσιος, Κλεαγόρου υἱός,
 τοῦ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκίῳ γεγραφότος. Οὗτος συνήδετο
 τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὅτι ἐσίσωστο· καὶ ἤρωτα αὐτόν, πόσον χρυ-
 σίον ἔχοι. Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐπομόσας εἶπεν, ἥ μὴν ἔσσεσθαι μηδ' 5
 ἐφόδιον ἱκανὸν οἴκαδε ἀπιάναι, εἰ μὴ ἀπόδοιτο τὸν ἵππον,
 καὶ ἅ ἄμφι αὐτόν εἴχεν. Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐπίστανεν. Ἐπεὶ
 δ' ἐπεμψαν Λαμψακηνοὶ ξένια τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ θύων τῷ
 Ἀπόλλωνι παρεστήσατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην, ἰδὼν τὰ ἱερεῖα ὁ
 Εὐκλείδης εἶπεν, ὅτι πείθοιτο αὐτῷ, μὴ εἶναι χρήματα. 10
 “Ἄλλ' οἶδα,” ἔφη, “ὅτι, καὶν μέλλῃ ποτὲ γενήσεσθαι, φαί-
 νεται τι ἐμπόδιον, εἴαν μηδὲν ἄλλο, σὺ σαυτῷ.” Συνωμολό-
 γει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· “Ἐμπόδιος γάρ σοι
 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλιχίος ἐστι·” καὶ ἐπῆρετο, εἰ ἤδη ποτὲ θύσειεν,
 “ὥς περ οἴκοι,” ἔφη, “εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι καὶ ὅλο- 15
 καυτεῖν.” Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη, ἐξ ὅτου ἀπεδήμησε, τεθυκέναι τού-
 τῳ τῷ θεῷ. Συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ θύεσθαι καὶ ἅ εἰώθει,
 καὶ ἔφη συνοίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Ξενο-
 φῶν προελθὼν εἰς Ὀφρύνιον ἐθύετο, καὶ ὠλοκαύτει χοίρους
 τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ· καὶ ἐκαλλιερεῖ. Καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 20
 ἀφικνεῖται Βίτων καὶ ἅμα Εὐκλείδης, χρήματα δώσοντες τῷ
 στρατεύματι· καὶ ξενοῦνται τε τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ ἵππον,
 ὃν ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἀπέδοτο πεντήκοντα δαρεικῶν, ὑποπτεύον-
 τες αὐτόν δι' ἐνδειαν πεπρακέναι, ὅτι ἤκουον αὐτόν ἡδεσθαι
 τῷ ἵππῳ, λυσάμενοι ἀπέδωσαν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν οὐκ ἤθελον 25
 ἀπολαβεῖν.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρωάδος, καὶ ὑπερβάντες
 τὴν Ἰδην, εἰς Ἀνταδρον ἀφικνοῦνται πρῶτον· εἰτα πλεῖστα
 θάλατταν πορευόμενοι τῆς Ἀσδίας, εἰς Θήβης πεδίον. Ἐν-
 τεῦθεν δι' Ἀτραμυτιλίου καὶ Κερτονίου παρ' Ἀταργεία εἰς 30

Καΐκου πεδῖον ἐλθόντες, Πέργαμον καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας.

Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ξενοῦται Ξενοφῶν παρ' Ἑλλάδι, τῇ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἐμετρίεως γυναικί, καὶ Γοργίανος καὶ Γογγύλου μητρί.
 5 Ἀὕτη δ' αὐτῷ φράζει, ὅτι Ἀσιδάτης ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνὴρ Πέργης· τοῦτον ἔφη αὐτόν, εἰ ἔλθοι τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσι, λαβεῖν αὐν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὰ χρήματα· εἶναι δὲ πολλά. Ταῦτα δὲ καθηγησομένους ἔπεμψε τὸν τε αὐτῆς ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Λαφναγόραν, ἐν
 10 περὶ πλείστου ἐποιεῖτο. Ἐχων οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τούτους παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ἐθύετο. Καὶ Ἀγασίας ὁ Ἡλείος μάντις παρὼν εἶπεν, ὅτι κάλλιστα εἶεν τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῷ, καὶ οἱ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἂν ὑλώσιμος εἴη. Δειπνήσας οὖν ἐπορεύετο, τοὺς τε λοχαγούς τοὺς μάλιστα φίλους λαβὼν καὶ πιστοὺς γεγεννημένους δια-
 15 παντός, ὅπως εὖ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς. Συνεξέρχονται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι βιασάμενοι, εἰς ἑξακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλαινον, ἵνα μὴ μεταδοῖεν τὸ μέρος, ὥς ἐτοίμων δὴ χρημάτων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο περὶ τὰς μέσας νύκτας, τὰ μὲν περὶ
 20 ὄντα ἀνδράποδα τῆς τύρσιος καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα ἀπέδρα αὐτούς παραμελοῦντας, ὥς τὸν Ἀσιδάτην αὐτὸν λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου. Πυργομαχοῦντες δ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὴν τύρσιν, ὑψηλὴ γάρ ἦν, καὶ μεγάλη, καὶ προμαχεῶνας καὶ ἀνδρας πολλούς καὶ μαχίμους ἔχουσα, διορύττειν ἐπεχεί-
 25 ρησαν τὸν πύργον. Ὁ δὲ τοῖχος ἦν ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πλίνθων γήινων τὸ εὖρος. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωρῶρυκτο· καὶ ὥς τὸ πρῶτον διεφάνη, ἐπάταξεν ἔνδοθεν βουπόρῳ τις ὀβελίσκῳ διαμπερές τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ ἐγγυτάτῳ· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐποίουν μηδὲ παριέναι ἔτι ἀσφαλές εἶναι. Κεκραγόντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ πυρσευόντων, ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, Ἰαβέλιος μὲν ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐκ Κομανίας δὲ ὀπλῖται φρουροί, καὶ ἱππεῖς Τρκάνιοι, καὶ οὗτοι βασιλέως μισθοφόροι, ὥς ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ εἰς ὀκτακοσίους· ἄλλοι

δ' ἐκ Παρθενίου, ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλησίον χωρίων καὶ ἱππεῖς.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥρα ἦν, πῶς ἔσται ἡ ἄφοδος, σκοπεῖν· καὶ λαβόντες, ὅσοι ἦσαν βόες καὶ πρόβατα, ἤλαυνον, καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἐντὸς πλαισίου ποιησάμενοι· οὐ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὕτω προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φυγὴ εἴη ἡ ἄφοδος, εἰ καταλιπόντες τὰ χρήματα ἀπίοιεν, καὶ οἱ τε πολέμιοι θρασύτεροι εἶεν, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀθυμότεροι· νῦν δὲ ἀπήεσαν ὥς περὶ τῶν χρημάτων μαχούμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἰώφα Γογγύλος ὀλίγους μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικείμενους, ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βίᾳ τῆς μητρός, τὴν ἐκυτοῦ δύναμιν ἔχων, βουλόμενος συμμασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου· συμβοήθει δὲ καὶ Προκλῆς ἐξ Ἀλυσάρνης καὶ Τευθρανίας, ὁ ἀπὸ Λαμναρίου. Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ πάντῃ ᾗδη ἐπιέζοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ σφειδονῶν, πορευόμενοι 15 κύκλῳ, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοιεν πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, μόλις διαβαίνουσι τὸν Κάϊκον ποταμόν, τετρωμένοι ἑγγὺς οἱ ἡμίσεις. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος, ὁ λοχαγός, τιτρώσκεται, τὸν πάντα χρόνον μαχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Καὶ διασώζονται, ἀνδράποδα ὥς διακόσια ἔχοντες, καὶ πρόβατα 20 ὅσον θύματα.

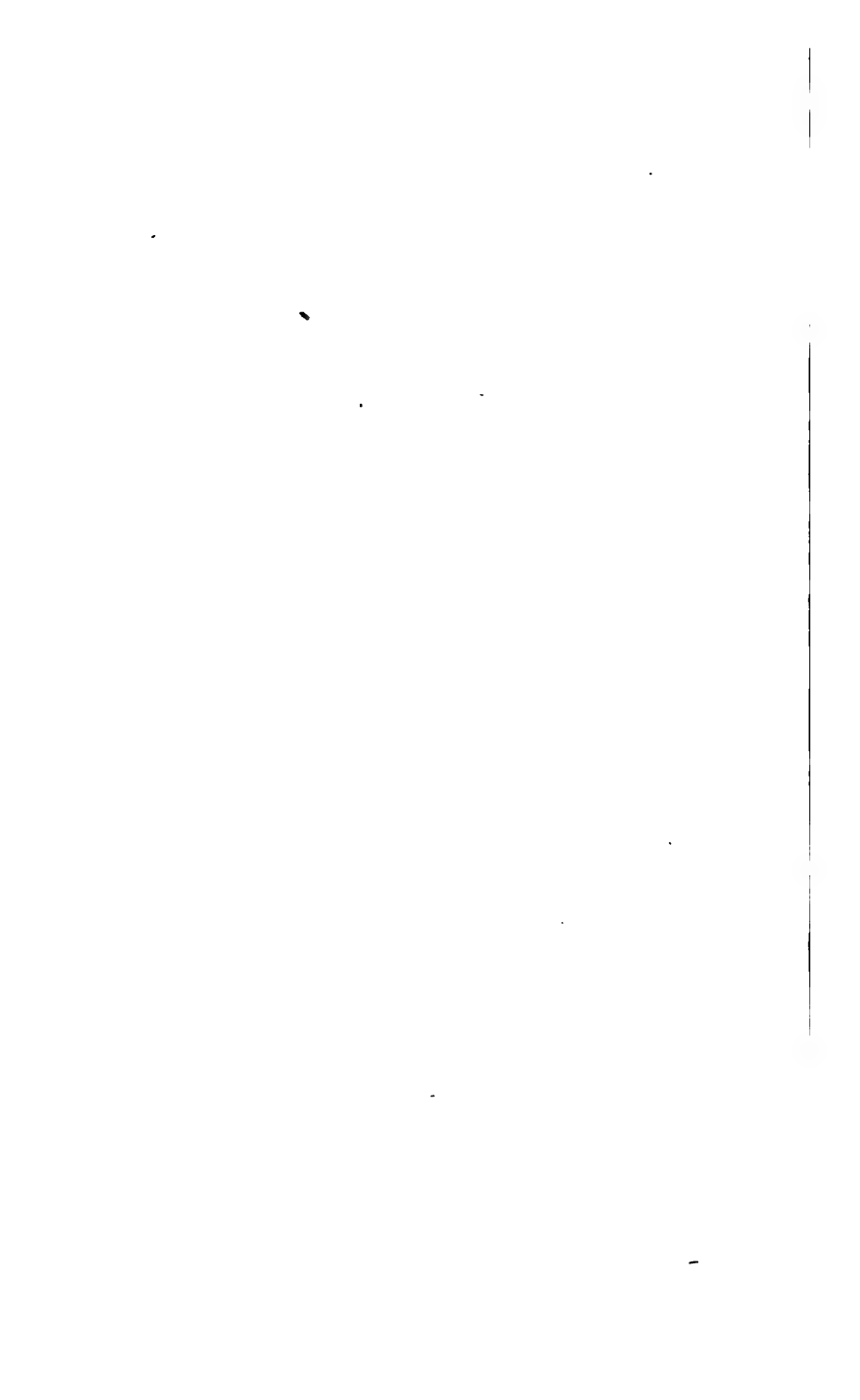
Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐξάγει νύκτωρ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως ὅτι μακροτάτην ἔλθοι τῆς Λυδίας, ὥστε μὴ διὰ τὸ ἑγγὺς εἶναι φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφυλακτεῖν. Ὅ δ' Ἀσιδάτης, ἀκούσας, ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἴη 25 Ξενοφῶν, καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἦξοι, ἐξαυλίζεται εἰς κόμας ὑπὸ τὸ Παρθένιον πόλισμα ἐχούσας. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα συντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν, καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ παῖδας, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα· καὶ οὕτω τὰ πρότερα ἱερὰ ἀπέβη. Ἐπεὶτα πάλιν 30 ἀφικνούνται εἰς Πέργαμον. Ἐνταῦθα τὸν Θεὸν οὐκ ᾔτιάσατο ὁ Ξενοφῶν· συνέπραττον γὰρ καὶ οἱ Λάκωνες, καὶ οἱ

λοχαγοί, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, ὥστε
ἐξαίρετα λαμβάνειν, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ ζεύγη, καὶ τᾶλλα ὥστε
ικανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλον ἤδη εὖ ποιεῖν.

Ἐκ τούτου Θίμβρων παραγενόμενος παρέλαβε τὸ στρά-
8 τευμα, καὶ συμμίξας τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐπολέμει πρὸς Τις-
σαφέρην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.

Ἄρχοντες δὲ οἶδε τῆς βασιλείας χώρας, ὅσῃν ἐπὶ λήθομεν,
Λυδίας, Ἀρτίμας· Φρυγίας, Ἀρτακάμας· Λυκαονίας καὶ
Καππαδοκίας, Μιθριδάτης· Κιλικίας, Σύννεσις· Φοινί-
10 κης καὶ Ἀραβίας, Λέρνης· Συρίας καὶ Ἀσσυρίας, Βέλεσος·
Βαβυλῶνος, Ρωπάρας· Μηθίας, Ἀρβάκας· Φασιανῶν καὶ
Ἑσπεριτῶν, Τηρίδαζος· Καρδοῦχοι δὲ καὶ Χάλυβες, καὶ
Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Μάκρωνες, καὶ Κόλχοι, καὶ Μοσύνοικοι, καὶ
Κοῖται, καὶ Τιβερηνοί, ἀντίνομοι· Παφλαγονίας, Κορύ-
15 λας· Βιθυνῶν, Φαρνάβαζος· τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Θρακῶν,
Σεύθης.

Ἀριθμὸς συμπάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ κατα-
βάσεως, σταθμοὶ διακύσιοι δεκαπέντε, παρασάγγαι χίλιοι
ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα πέντε, στάδια τριζμύρια τετρακισχίλια
20 ἑξακόσια πεντήκοντα. Χρόνου πλῆθος τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ
καταβάσεως, ἑνιαυτὸς καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες.



NOTES.

[Contractions in the Notes.—F. for Fisk's Greek Grammar, 2d ed.—
Antiq. for Compendium of Grecian Antiquities, by the Editor.]

BOOK FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

'Anábasis (compounded of ἀνά and βαίνω, to go up) literally means *the ascent*. It was not uncommon for the Greeks, when speaking of a journey to any celebrated city, to use the verb ἀναβαίνω, thus applying its superiority over other places in size and opulence, to its local situation. But this form of expression was more particularly used when they would speak of going from the sea-coast to the interior of a country, as in the present case. Ionia, Lydia, Caria, and all the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, were called *lower Asia*, while the interior was called *upper Asia*. This distinction may have arisen from the general course of the rivers in that country, which flow towards the west, and empty into the *Ægean sea*. Cyrus was satrap over all the provinces which border on this sea, and hence, after he had collected his troops together, *his march up* towards Babylon, to meet his brother in the field, is called *'Anábasis*. Page. 1

As the "*Anabasis*" is a book of travels as well as a book of military history and exploits, the student should constantly consult the map accompanying this work, and trace the progress of the army.

1. ΔΑΠΕΙΟΤ.] See F. Rule XVII. This Darius was the second king of Persia of that name, called also *Nothus* or 'illegitimate.'

2. νεώτερος.] *Cyrus the younger*. The history of the elder Cyrus, or Cyrus the Great, King of Persia, is given by Xenophon in his "*Cyropædia*."

Page.

1 5. *παρὸν ἐνέγγχον*, happened to be present. F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 2.

6. *σατράπης*, a *satrap*. This was the Persian title for a prince or governor of a province. It is said to be derived from *Chatrapa* "lord of the umbrella, or shade of state." Bearing an umbrella, as a distinction of dignity, is still a custom in many countries of the East, and has been so in Persia from the earliest times, where this sort of shade is held over the chief or king whether he be sitting or walking.

7. *Καστολεύς*.] The plain of Castölus, in Lydia, was the place where the troops of Cyrus' province were accustomed to assemble; so for each province of the Persian empire certain campaign situations were designated for the assembly of its forces on the approach of war.

8. *Τισσαφέρνης*.] This is the same Tissaphernes who commanded the forces of Artaxerxes at the battle of Cunaxa. In addition to his faithless conduct towards Cyrus himself, he endeavoured, but in vain, to cut off the retreat of the Greeks, and was guilty of the grossest treachery to the Grecian generals, who had placed themselves under his direction. But he met with a fate worthy of his baseness. Being routed several times by Agesilaus, who was sent with some Lacedæmonian forces into Asia, after the retreat of the Ten Thousand, Artaxerxes became incensed against him, and ordered him to be beheaded.

9. *ἰπλίτας*.] The Grecian infantry consisted of three sorts of soldiers, namely, the *ἰπλίται*, or *heavy-armed*, who wore corselets, and carried long spears and swords; the *ψιλοί*, or *light-armed*, who made use of missive weapons, such as arrows, darts, and slings, and who were not calculated for close fight; and the *εὐλαστῆραι*, or *targeteers*, who seem to have held a middle rank between the *light* and the *heavy armed*. Their bucklers were lighter than the one, and their darts shorter than the other, so that upon an emergency they might fight at a distance or in close quarters. Their name is taken from the *εὐλας*, which they wore, a short *buckler* or *target* in the shape of a half-moon. See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 2.

10. *Παρθένον*.] The Parrhasii were a people of Arcadia (in Peloponnesus), on the Laconian frontier.

14. *ἑαυτῆς αἰμένη*, having begged off for herself or for her own sake. For the force of the middle voice, see F. p. 59.

16. *ἔσως μήποτε ἔτι*, how never for the future.

17. *ἐπὶ*, with the dative, frequently means in the power of.

18. *ὑπὸ χρι*, favored, excused the cause of. Parysatis preserved her partiality for Cyrus to the last, and punished, in the most cruel manner, those who had been instrumental in his death.

20. *Ὅσοις δὲ τῶν παρὰ βασιλῆως*, literally, whoever of those from the king: *οἱ παρὰ σοῦ* is an elliptical expression, meaning your messengers: *οἱ παρὰ βασιλῆως*, the king's courtiers or delegates.

1. *οὕτω διατιθείς*, so favorably disposed.

3. *ἐνδοῦκός ἔχων.*] Adverbs are often put with the verb *ἔχων*, and they both together have the same sense as the adjectives corresponding to those adverbs, with the verb *ἵσται*, to be: thus *ἔχων ἐνδοῦκός* is the same as *ἵσται ἐνδοῦκός*, to be friendly disposed to: strictly there is an ellipsis of *οἱ* in this case, as, *ἔχων οἱ καλῶς*, literally, he has himself well.

5. *ἔτι ἀπαρσκευότατον*, as unprepared as possible. The particles *ὥς*, *ἔσως*, *ἔτι* are often joined to superlatives, to which they give additional force. The expression is of course elliptical. Formerly *ἔτι* was written as two words *ἔ τι* (the pronoun *what*); and *εὐδαιμόν ἔτι μάλιστα*, as happy as possible, if fully expressed, would be *οὕτως εὐδαιμόν, ὥς ἔ τι μάλιστα εὐδαιμὸν ἔστι*, thus or as happy, as what is most happy. The origin of the phrase was however soon overlooked, and *ἔτι* was used not as a neuter pronoun, but as a particle, just like *ὥς* with which it corresponds in meaning in other respects. The ellipsis in the phrase under consideration may thus be supplied, *ἔσως λάβοι βασιλῆα οὕτως ἀπαρσκευόν, ὥς ἔ τι ἀπαρσκευότατον ἔστί*, that he might take the king as unprepared as what is most unprepared. So Thucydides, *ἔτι ἰγγύεσσι*, as near as possible; *ἔτι ἐν βραχυτάτῃ*, as near as possible.

6. *συλλογὴν*, a levy of soldiers.

8. *Πελοποννησίους.*] The Lacedæmonians at this time were the first state in Greece, and favored the colonies in Asia Minor.

8. *ἔτι πλείους.*] See note on 5th line.

9. *ὥς.*] For the elegant use of this particle with the genitive absolute, see Vigerus de Idiotismis Græcis, Cap. viii. Sec. 10. Also F. Rule XXXIII, Obs. 4.

- 2 10. Καὶ γάρ.] Γάρ, *for*, never stands at the beginning of a sentence, but instead of it καὶ γάρ is used. There is, of course, something to be supplied, which γάρ connects with what follows, but this is passed over by the speaker in the vivacity of his discourse. Here something like the following may be supplied, καὶ γάρ, and . . . he ordered these measures to be taken . . *for*, &c. *Matthiæ*, Sec. 615. *Vigerus*, (*Herman*.) Lond. 1824, p. 496.

10. ἐν ἀρχαῖον.] See F. p. 155, "Frequently the neuter article," &c.

12. Μιλήτην.] Miletus was the chief city of Ionia, situated on the sea-coast.

17. Καὶ αὐτὴ αὖ ἄλλη πρίφαις ἦν, and this again was another pretext.

18. τοῦ ἀρριζίου.] See F. Rule XXX.

23. πολιορκῶσα, *by waging war*, the participle used for the Latin Gerund. See *Vigerus*, p. 332, and F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 5.

23. αὐτὸν δαπανῶν, *that he was expending his means upon his forces*, where ἐμφί is equivalent to ἐν.

24. αὐτῶν.] See F. Rule XVIII, 3.

24. καὶ γάρ ἴχων, and he was not displeased at their quarrelling, *for Cyrus sent to the king the tributes arising from the cities which Tissaphernes happened to have*; that is, that though wrested from Tissaphernes, they were still supposed to be held by him, as given him by the king. ὧν for ἧς. See F. Rule VI, Exc. 1.; and for ἐνύγχαιον ἴχων, See F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 2.

28. κατανενίφαις, *opposite to*. To supply the ellipsis, ἐν χώρῃ ἢ ἔσσι, *the country which is opposite to*, &c.

28. Κλίσιαρχος.] Xenophon merely states here that Clearchus was a banished man, without mentioning the cause of his banishment. For this he has been accused of a want of candor, since it was for the crimes of tyranny, robbery, and murder. However, in drawing up his character (Book II, Chap. 6.) he fully exposes his violent passion for war.

30. δαρυκοῦς.] The Persian *daric* was a gold coin, worth about three dollars, and took its name from having on one side the head of Darius.

- 3 2. ἑκούσας, *voluntarily, of their own accord*. See F. Rule II, Obs. 8.

3. *τριφόμενον ἰλάνθαιον.*] See F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 2.

5. *καὶ πειζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὅσων ἀντιστασιωτῶν*, and being harassed by an opposite faction at home.

6. *εἰς.*] This preposition when joined with an accusative of number generally means *about*: as *εἰς διεχίλιους*, about two thousand.

6. *ξένος.*] The original meaning of *ξένος* is an *enemy*. In the primitive ages there was but little intercourse among mankind, vast numbers lived by plunder, physical force chiefly obtained, and every *stranger* was looked upon as an *enemy*. Hence *ξένος* came to signify a *stranger*, a *foreigner*; and afterwards, in a more settled and civilized state of society, a *guest* or *friend*. But how came it to signify a *mercenary* or *hired soldier*, as in this place? In the early periods of Grecian history, every soldier served at his own expense, and it was considered a great disgrace to receive pay for military service. But in process of time, the Greeks enlisted *foreign* soldiers into their armies, and paid them. Hence the changes in the signification of the word *ξένος*, meaning, first, an *enemy*; then, a *stranger* or *foreigner* and *guest* or *friend*, then, a *foreign soldier*; and lastly, any *mercenary* or *hired soldier*.

7. *πυργισθείμενος ἄν.*] "Αν gives the sense of *likelihood* to the event.

10. *καταλύσαι*, (τὸν πόλεμον understood,) to put an end to the war.

14. *Πισιδίας.*] Pisidia was a mountainous country in the interior of Asia Minor, bounded N. by Phrygia, S. by Lycia and Pamphylia.

15. *πράγματα παρικόνηται*, giving trouble, that is by invading and laying waste. For *ὡς* with gen. abs. see F. Rule XXXIII, Obs. 4.

CHAPTER II.

21. *ἀπὸ.*] That is, from the sea-coast into upper Asia.

24. *ἐνταῦθα* signifies *here*, in *this place*, that is, in his own dominions, rather than *thither*, that is, in Pisidia, according to the interpretation of Zeunius.

26. *συναλλαγίντι*, having been reconciled, or having come to an agreement. See 'Αρίστιππος in the fourth line. Aristippus did not come himself, but sent Menon.

3 28. τοὺς ξινοῦς, the mercenary troops, στρατιώτας being understood. See F. Rule XVIII, Obs. 11.

4 4. ταῖς.] Some editions have στρατιώται, the Attic form of third person plural, of the pluperfect middle, of the verb ἵμι, to go. See Port Royal Greek Grammar, p. 223.

8. γυμνάται, light-armed soldiers, the same as the φιλοί.

13. Σάρδεις.] Sardis was the capital of Lydia, and the seat of the kings.

14. Τισσαφέρνης.] Diodorus relates that Alcibiades first betrayed the design of Cyrus to Pharnabazus, and was therefore put to death.

16. αἱ, used with the accusative, by the Attics, for τοῖς βασιλῆι.

16. ᾧ.] To supply the ellipse, is εἰς ᾧν τὸ ᾧ ἴδιον τοῦ ταχέως εἰσέρχεται, in the way in which he was able to go the quickest. See Bos. Ellips. under ἴδιος.

20. παραστάγιος.] As was stated in the first edition, the parasang, or Persian mile, is equal to about three and three-quarters, or nearer three and a half, English miles, as it is undoubtedly the same measure as the farang, which is in present use throughout Persia, and which is known to be about this length. But by a reference to some parts of the ground travelled over by the Ten Thousand, the geography of which is very well known, and from the known average length of the daily marches of many modern armies, it appears that the parasang of Xenophon is equal to about three Roman, or two and three-quarters English miles. For instance, the distance between Tarsus and the river Pyranus at Mopsuestia* is known by the measurement of modern travellers to be forty-five Roman miles: in the Anabasis (p. 12, line 26,) it is given at fifteen parasangs. So also Tarsus is known to be almost seventy-five Roman miles from Tyana,† and in the Anabasis it is laid down at twenty-five parasangs. It thus appears that the parasang of Xenophon is equal to three Roman miles; that is, to about two English miles and three-quarters.

Major Rennell, in his "Illustrations of the History of the Expedition," has taken great pains to ascertain the mean daily march of ancient and modern armies, and has collected together many statistical statements bearing upon the subject. The result is, "somewhat

* See map.

† Called by Xenophon Δάνα, on p. 7, line 15.

above fourteen British miles by the road." The average length of the daily marches of the Greeks from Sardis to Cotyōra, is about fifteen English miles. This may seem a short distance; but it must be borne in mind that the situation of large armies on their march is very different from that of ordinary travellers walking at their ease. The former, besides being partially laden, are often very much retarded in their movements by the difficulty of procuring food for themselves, and provender for their horses in sufficient quantities, especially when going through such barren regions, as are found in certain parts of Asia. It is true that Bonaparte and Alexander sometimes made *forced marches* of a much greater length; but the former marched across countries well *stocked* and inhabited, where he made every thing contribute to accelerate his progress; while the latter seemed to care little for either man or beast as long as his thirst for dominion continued. In marching from *Ecbatana* to *Rages* in eleven days, at the rate of nineteen miles per day, Arrian says (Lib. III), "Although many of his soldiers fainted on the road, and many of his horses died, through excessive weariness, Alexander still resolved to proceed at the same rate." See Rennell's "Illustrations," 4to. Lond. 1816. 4

20. σταθμοί, *stations, or day's marches*, which had no determinate length, but varied according to the nature of the country travelled over.

22. δύο αλίδρα.] The αλίδρα was a measure of 100 feet.

24. πόλις οἰκουμένη, *an inhabited city*. On the line of Cyrus's march, many ruined and deserted towns were met with, and therefore Xenophon generally mentions it, when they meet with an inhabited and populous city. The city Colossæ here mentioned is celebrated on account of St. Paul's Epistles to its inhabitants. Though a flourishing city in the time of Xenophon, it was destroyed four centuries after, and two years after the date of Paul's Epistles, by an earthquake, so that no traces of it now remain.

30. βασίλειαι.] This is the neuter plural of the adjective, meaning *the royal palace*. It is here put in the plural to include all the accompaniments of royalty.

30. παράδεισος.] This is a Persian word, and originally meant *a pleasure-garden*, and afterwards, as in this place, a *park*. It was the custom among the Persian kings to have these *parks*, which were

- 4 well watered, surrounded by walls and planted with trees; and in them wild beasts were kept, for the purpose of affording exercise and amusement, in hunting, to the king and his courtiers.
- 5 2. *μικέλου βασιλίου.*] "This is the title given by all the Greek authors to the King of Persia, which is preserved to the successors of Mahomet, in that of the *Grand Seigneur*." Spelman. See F. Rule XVII.
7. *Μαζεύων.*] The historical or fabulous accounts of persons and places will not always be given, as it is presumed that every reader of the "Anabasis" will own a Classical dictionary, which should be continually consulted.
8. *πρὸ σοφίας.*] The usual signification of *σοφία* is *wisdom*; it also signifies *philosophy, science*, and also, as in this place, *the liberal arts, music, and poetry*.
19. *μέγιστον καὶ χίλιον.*] According to some editions there is a discrepancy between the aggregate amount of troops here stated, and the sum of all the numbers brought by each general, as mentioned before. Schneider has left Menon's forces out of the calculation, and makes the whole number 12,300. Weiske reads *Πασιών τις ἑξακισσώντων ἄνδρας, Pasion, seven hundred men*, which we much prefer, as it makes the sum of the particulars equal to the number of the troops stated to be reviewed by Cyrus. If we consider the *γυμνῶτας* and the *εὐχίνας* as *light-armed troops*, the catalogue will be thus:

	Ὀπλιῖται.	Πελτασταί.
Xenias,	had 4000	
Proxenus,	" 1500	500
Sophænetus, the Stymphalian, "	1000	
Socrates,	" 500	
Pasion, (according to Weiske) "	700	
Menon,	" 1000	500
Clearchus,	" 1000	1000 *
Sosias,	" 300	
Sophænnetus, the Arcadian, . "	1000	
	11000	2000

* Two hundred of which were *εὐχίνας*.

22. Πίλταις.] In going from Celænzæ to Peltæ, and thence to the Forum of the Ceramians or Kramians, Cyrus appears to have gone entirely out of the general direction of his route, as will be seen by the map. But as he was making preparations for his expedition, his object probably was to take the stores and provisions that he had collected at different places. From the Forum of the Kramians he may be considered as commencing his undeviating route towards Babylon.

23. Λύκαια.] This was an Arcadian festival (Xenias being an Arcadian), and was celebrated by horse and foot racing. It was instituted in honor of Pan, and resembled the Roman Lupercalia. The reward of victory was generally a suit of brazen armour. Here the rewards were σπλιγγίδες χρυσαί, *golden flesh-brushes or scrapers*, (for we can find no better terms,) used for scraping or rubbing the skin, at the time of bathing, or after the exercises of the gymnasia.

32. διηγῆται.] Probably αὐτοῦς is understood; *he led them along*, that is, *encouraged them by talking of his hopes*. For the use of the participle, see F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 5. If χρόνος be supplied, the sense would be, *he protracted the time*.

32. δῆλος.] See F. Rule II, Obs. 8.

33. περὶ, in accordance with, or characteristic of.

33. ἴχοντα, agreeing with ἐκείνους understood, instead of ἴχοντες to agree with Κύρου. See F. Rule IV, latter part of Obs. 1.

10. Σάτυρον.] *The satyr Silenus*. For the tradition in connexion with this, see Class. Dict., article *Silenus*.

16. αὐταῖς.] Governed by ἡ, understood. See F. Rule XX, L.

17. συντάξει δὲ ἑαστοὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, and that each general should draw up his own troops.

18. ἐπὶ τεσσάρων, *four deep*.

21. κατ' ἑλῆς καὶ κατὰ τάξεις, *by troops and companies*. The word ἑλῆ (*turma* in Latin) was applied particularly to a troop of cavalry; while τάξεις was generally applied to a company of infantry.

23. ἀρμαμάχης.] This was a covered chariot, used chiefly by women.

24. νημιῶδες.] See Antiq. Part 8, Chap. 3.

25. ἐκτεταταγμέναις.] Weiske, with his usual acuteness, thinks that the true reading is, τὰς νημιῶδες ἐκτεταταγμέναις καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας

- 6 *ἐκτεταλασμένους*, having their greaves well burnished and their shields uncorroded; because the former, being naturally much tarnished by their journey, would require polishing, while to display the brightness of the latter, it would be necessary only to throw aside the part of their dress which protected them.

26. *φάλαγγος*.] See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 5.

28. *πρὸβαλεῖσθαι τὰ ἴσλα*, to present their pikes, or rather, (*ἴσλα* including all offensive weapons,) to hold their arms in front, in the manner of attack. See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 3.

28. *ἰσχυρῆσαι*, to advance, as if to battle.

30. *ἐνάλυξις*.] See F. Rule III, Obs. 1.

31. *ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου*, of themselves, by a sudden or simultaneous movement.

- 7 1. *οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*, the sutlers, those who kept refreshment and provisions for the soldiers.

12. *τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν*.] See the route on the map.

14. *μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων*.] That is, with all his army, excepting the detachment sent to escort the queen.

17. *ἐν ᾧ*.] That is, *ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ*.

18. *φουκιστήν*.] It was the custom in Persia, for the king and men of high rank, to wear purple, and he who had attained an elevated station, was called *φουκιστής*. These two words, *φουκιστὴν βασιλεῖον*, may be translated, a royal courtier.

20. *ἡ δὲ ἰσθμὸς*.] There are several passes leading into Cilicia, from Cappadocia on one side, and Syria on the other: but the two through which Cyrus and Xenophon march, are the chief. The one through which the army is now about to go is properly called the *Cilician pass*, leading over mount Taurus in Cappadocia, into *Cilicia*. It is situated a few miles south of the city Tyana.* "The entrance was just broad enough for a chariot to pass; very steep, and inaccessible to an army if there had been any opposition."

26. *εἰς τὴν ὄρεον*, within the mountains, that is, on the side towards Tarsus, where was the palace of the king; though Menon was on the other side with respect to the situation of Cyrus.

30. *ἐν ἰφύλακτι*, where the Cilicians used to keep watch. The imperfect expresses a continuance of action or habit, for this was the station usually guarded for the defence of the country.

* Called by Xenophon *Δάνα*, *Dana*.

31. *πιδίον*.] This extensive plain lies between the rivers Cydnus * 7 and Pyramus, in the former of which Alexander bathed, when very warm, and nearly lost his life in consequence. See Quintus Curt. Lib. III. Cap. 4.

32. *ἱμῶδες*.] This adjective is declined in the Attic form, like *ὑγιής*. See F. p. 46.

32. *σάσαμον καὶ μελίον*.] The *sesame* is a leguminous plant, found in the Levant, which is used as food, and from which an oil is extracted. It resembles the bean in the manner of its growth. The difference between *μελίον*, *panic*, and *σίγχιος*, *millet*, is, that the former bears its grain in ears, the latter in bunches. They both make bad bread.

1. *ἐν θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν*.] Quintus Curtius, in speaking 8 of this ridge of mountains, says that it is of a semicircular shape, each end terminating at the sea. See map.

13. *λίχαι*.] See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 5.

CHAPTER III.

2. *ἐνὶ πρόσω*, *farther*. Schneider thinks that the text is here 9 corrupt, and that it should be *ἐν πρόσω*. Yet from the number of passages in which *ἐνὶ πρόσω* is found, it cannot but be regarded as genuine. The ellipsis may be supplied by *διὰ τοῦ τόπου ἐνὶ πρόσω*, *through any place farther*.

5. *ἰσχύειτο*, (imperfect,) *was for compelling, began to compel*.

5. *ἱελλον*.] *τοῖς λίθοις* is here understood, *but they continued to attack him with stones*.

7. *τοῦ μὴ καταπειραθῆναι*.] After verbs which contain a denial (as *ἐξέφυγε*), the negative *μὴ* is added to the infinitive.

12. *χαλιπῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν*.] The dative is often put after neuter verbs, where the cause or occasion is expressed with *ἐπί* understood; — *that I am distressed at the present state of things*.

16. Jacobs has omitted a phrase after *ἡμεῖς*, which, it is believed, is found in all the other editions. It is *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατεδωρόμην*, *neither did I lavish it upon my pleasures*. When *ἀλλὰ* is followed

* Which flowed through Tarsus.

9 by *οὐδὲ*, it means *moreover, furthermore*; and greatly increases the force of the negative particle. See Vigerns, p. 472.

19. *ἀπαραισθεύει*.] This verb governs two accusatives. See *Matthæi*, Art. 412. F. Rule XXV.

24. *ἴθι*.] Schneider, on the authority of Porson, substituted *ἴθι* to go.

10 *δὲ* *ἀνὴρ*.] See F. Rule XLVII, Obs. 2.

4. *ἀλλήλων*.] This is in the first aor. mid. infin. by syncope for *ἀλλήλοισιν*, from the verb *ἀλλέω*, though it might be formed regularly from *ἀλλέω*, which is seldom used.

4. *Ὡς ἡμῶν εἰς ἑστέρας ἐν γούμῳ ἔχῃ*, literally, *Have an opinion of me, therefore, as going*, that is, *Know then that I shall go, &c.* The particle *ὡς* is elegantly construed with participles in the genitive, instead of *ἐν* with the finite verb.

10. *ταῖς ἀραιῇς*, being perplexed at these things, not knowing how to manage them. The verb *ἀραιῶ* is found with both the genitive and dative, but with different significations: *ἀραιῶ τι* is, "not to know what course to take in any matter;" *ἀραιῶ τινος* is, "to be deprived of any thing."

17. *ἐὰν μὲν, κ. τ. λ.*, it is evident that Cyrus stands in a similar relation towards us, that we do towards him; that is, "we are each independent of the other." This speech of Clearchus is one of much shrewdness; since he tells the soldiers that they are at liberty to do as they please, and at the same time puts many difficulties in their way, should they conclude to abandon Cyrus. He therefore governs them, without their suspecting it.

22. *ἐν μὲν μίσητον*, in the first place, or, more especially, because, &c.

23. *πάντα*.] *Κατὰ* is here to be supplied. F. Rule XLII, Obs. 1.

27. *μύθηται*.] The present tense used for the future.

27. *αὐτοῦ*, here. The ellipsis is *ἐν αὐτοῦ τόπῳ*, in this place. See Bos. *Ellipses Græcæ*.

27. *ὡς ἀρπαλίσματα*.] See note on page 2, line 3.

31. *Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ*, this man, by way of eminence, referring to Cyrus.

32. *ἐχθρὸς, πόλεμος*.] The difference between these two words is, that the former means a private enemy, and implies malice, and a desire for revenge, while the latter signifies a public enemy, or an

enemy in war, where the parties are excited by no individual malevolence. 10

1. ἀπὸν ἀπὸν καθύστεν, to be encamped far from him. 11

4. ἐκ τοῦ ἀποτάμεν, voluntarily, according to their inclinations.

5. ἐγχειν.] This word exemplifies the peculiar beauty which the preposition ἐκ, in composition, possesses; namely, that of diminishing the force of the word with which it is compounded. In this respect it corresponds to the Latin sub; as subfuscus, brownish, somewhat brown; subfrigidus, cool, somewhat cold. So in Greek, ὑχλωρεῖ, greenish; ὑμυρεῖ, bitterish. And in this place the soldiers are said not to be κίλινται, openly directed, but ἐγκίλινται, secretly instructed, privately advised. See Vigerus, p. 611.

6. ἄντι τῆς γνώμης, contrary to the wish.

19. μηδὲς ὑμῶν λογίται, let no one of you nominate me, &c.

21. ὥς.] The form of expression is here changed, otherwise ποιείμαι would be ποιήσας, to correspond with ἐρεστηγόμενα. Ὡς here means that, and is put for ἵνα, with the ellipse εἰς λογίται to be supplied.

22. ἄρχεται, to obey.

25. ὅστις πάλιν [τὸν] ἐπίλοιπον Κόρυν μὴ ποιήσας, as if Cyrus would not make his journey back again, that is, by sea, and would therefore want ships. 'How foolish then,' says Clearchus, 'would it be for us to ask of him the only means of conveying back his army.'

27. λυμηνόμηναι, to frustrate, to bring ruin upon; from λύμη, plague, ruin.

27. τὴν ἐρεῖαν, the enterprise. The difference between ἐρεῖαν, and ἔργον is, that the former means an action in progress, the latter, an action completed.

28. ἐὰν ἄρα ἡμῖν προκαταλαμβάνον, to seize upon these heights for us.

31. ἐπίκειται, is governed by εἰς, understood.

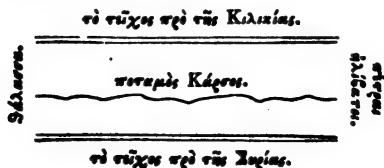
32. οὐχ ὅτις τι ἵσται, it will not be possible. Οἷος, implying ability, is very frequently thus used, with εἰσῆτος understood; as οὐκ ἵσται τοῦτος, οἷος ποιῶν, he is not such an one as to do it, that is, he is not able to do it.

6. συναναβάντων, who went up with him. These relate to the 12 three hundred Greeks, who attended Cyrus to court, under the command of Xenias.

- 12 9. *πρὶς θάλασσαν.*] *Χώρας* or *γῆς* is to be supplied.
 14. *τὰ δέξαντα τῇ στρατιῇ,* the resolutions of the army.
 21. *παραισύων.*] *Πρὶς*, in composition, generally increases the signification of the simple word, as in this place: *παραισύω* means to ask earnestly, to importune, and here, perhaps, to ask for more.
 23. *οἱ.*] This is in the genitive, by the Attic attraction: one and a half of that which they received before; that is, half as much more. F. Rule VI, Exc. 1, Obs. 1.
 24. *τῷ μὲν τῇ στρατιῇ.*] Here is a double ellipsis; *δὲ* is understood before *μὲν*, and *ἐν* before *στρατιῇ*.

CHAPTER IV.

- 13 5. *Ἡγῶντο.*] There were two fleets united: Pythagoras had the command of the vessels from Peloponnesus, and Tamos of those from Ephesus; in all seventy vessels. Cyrus intended with these to attack the fortress at the pass situated on the shores of the gulf of Issus: but the enemy retired and left it open to him.
 10. *ἄγκυραν,* lay at anchor, from *ἄγκω*, and not from *ἄγκιστρον*, as some of the commentators have supposed.
 11. *οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκάμης ἀποστάσαντες,* who were with Abrocamas, having deserted him, &c.
 15. *πόλεις.*] This pass, called the Gates of Cilicia and Syria, is also known by the names of the Syrian Straight and the Maritime Pass, from its being formed by the near approach of mount Amanus to the sea. It consisted of a narrow strip of land, extending from the cliffs of the mountains to the water. Across this were built the fortifications, two parallel walls (*δύο εὐχῆς*) about five hundred yards apart, the inner next to Cilicia, and the outer next to Syria. Between these flowed the river Carsus.



"The space between the two fortified lines facing the opposite 13 quarters (for such they must be considered) being no more than three stadia along the coast, proves that there must have been a considerable space between the rocky face of the mountains and the sea; and that nothing like a defile or very narrow space was intended. For, when Xenophon says that the pass was narrow (*στενή*), he could only mean in reference to a *front* formed for an attack, since there was width enough for a fortress, and that fortress large enough to contain a considerable force." Rennell.

20. *στάδιον*.] The *στάδιον*, or *στάδιον*, of the Greeks was about equal to an English furlong. See Antiq. Appendix.

20. *ὅτι ἦν*.] Supply the ellipsis, *δινατόν*.

22. *ἡλίζαντο*.] This word (compounded of *ἥλιος*, the sun, and *βαίνειν*, to go,) literally means, *reaching to the sun*, or *sun-extending*, a beautiful epithet.

24. *Ἰσως ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀποβιβάζουσιν*, that he might land his heavy-armed infantry.

25. *ἔσω καὶ ἔξω*, within, that is, towards Cilicia; and without, towards Syria.

2. *ἐλαάδης*.] See Antiq. Part 9. Chap. 1.

14

5. *φιλοσημαθόντις*, being piqued, thinking themselves dishonored.

13. *ἰπιστάμενος* is the third plur. pres. imper. of *ἰσίσταμαι*, to know.

14. *ἀποδιδράσκουσιν*.] The difference between this word and *ἀποφύγουσιν*, is this: a person is said *ἀποδράναι*, when he has absconded and is *out of knowledge*, or in a place unknown; but he is said *ἀποφύγειν*, when he has absconded and is *out of power*, or cannot be taken. The context clearly shows this distinction.

19. *κακῶς τοῦ*.] See F. Rule XXV, Obs. 2.

19. *τὰ χρήματα ἀποσπύλω*, that I plundered them of their property. From *σύλη*, plunder, booty.

19. *ἰόντων*.] Some copies read *δι* after *ἰόντων*. Stephanus, Hutchinson, and Weiske retain it; Zeunius, Porson, and Schneider reject it. Porson says of it, "Nullis nisi sequē mendosis exemplis defendi potest." This word is the Attic form of the third pers. plur. imperative, for *ἴεντων*.

23. *τῇς πρώτης*.] See F. Rule II, Obs. 10.

29. *πλάην* is from *πλάημι*, in the accusative singular, contracted.

- 14 29. *οἱ οἱ Σύροι.*] It is evident, from the united testimony of many ancient historians, that the Syrians abstained from the eating of fish and pigeons, considering them sacred. See Class. Dict. under *Semiramis* and *Derceto*. "The river is filled with an incredible number of fine carp, some of which are two feet in length. As they are forbidden to be caught or molested, they multiply exceedingly; it being regarded as a sacrilege of the most unpardonable kind, for any one to use them as food. There is every reason to believe, that this abstinence is a relic of the ancient superstition of the country, which taught men to worship Dagon or Venus, under the form of a fish, and, consequently, to abstain from eating their god." Buckingham's *Travels in Mesopotamia*, Vol. I, Chap. 3.

32. *οἱ ζώνων δαδμήναι.*] It was a custom with the kings of Persia to allot different cities to their queens, to supply them with different articles of dress. These villages seem to have been given to Parysatis, to supply her with girdles. Some copies read *ζώνες*, and it would then be translated, *to supply her table*.

- 15 3. *ἔρως.*] "Error is here to be supplied; which the seasons of the year produced.

7. *ἦκιστα*, was situated.

8. *Θάψακος.*] The different writers upon the geography of Asia Minor, Forster, Williams, Lake, Rennell, and others, do not agree upon the exact position of Thapsacus, and many other places mentioned by Xenophon. But it would be altogether out of place to introduce topographical discussions here. As a whole we prefer Major Rennell's "Illustrations," and have therefore followed him. See map.

14. *πάλαι*, all along before.

17. *καὶ ταῦτα*, and that too. Supply the ellipsis *ἰδούς*, and he gave this money to those going not to battle, &c.

20. *μισέ.*] For the value of this coin, see Antiq. Appendix.

20. *μισθὸν ἰστέλῃ*, full pay.

32. *αἴτιον εἶναι*, to be the cause of, to have influence by your example.

33. *χάριν εἶναι*, will acknowledge the favor. The verb is from *εἶδω*, to see or know.

- 16 1. *εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος*, that is, *ἐρίσταναι* understood, if any other one knows, he certainly does.

2. *ἢ δ' ἀποφασίσανται*, but if they should determine not, that is, not to cross the Euphrates

2. ἄπιμιν.] The present of the verb ἄμω has the signification of 16 the future. See F. p. 116, Obs. 1.

2. τοῦμπαν, for τὸ ἱμπαν· ἄπιμιν εἰς τοῦμπαν, we will go back. To supply the ellipsis, ἄπιμιν εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς ὁδοῦ ὅ ἐστὶ ἱμπαν, we will go to the part of the way which is behind.

5. Κύρου.] See F. Rule XVIII, 8.

24. ἐπειρίεσαντο, procured provisions for themselves. Th. εἶται.

CHAPTER V.

26. ἐρήμους, in the midst of a desert. This is the southern part of Mesopotamia. Ammianus says that this region is excessively sardy and barren, having no water excepting that which is salt and stagnant, and producing nothing but dragon-root, wormwood, and a few other herbs of this class. "The aspect of the country was dull and uninteresting, as there was neither mountain, valley, nor even plain; the whole being an unequal surface, like the high and long waves of a deep sea, when subsiding from a tempest into a calm, and not a tree any where in sight to relieve the monotony of the scene." Buckingham's Travels.

1. ὕλη, shrubbery, brush.

3. ἐν ἄγροις.] The swiftness of wild asses, and their fondness for desert places, have been confirmed by all naturalists. See also Hosea, viii. 9. Joh, xxiv. 5. Jeremiah, ii. 24. Isaiah, xxxii. 14, where it is predicted that Jerusalem will become a desert and "a joy of wild asses."

3. στρούθι.] This word, when not attended with the qualifying adjective μεγάλη, usually signifies sparrows. But στρούθαι αἱ μεγάλαι, ostriches.

4. ὠτιῶς, bustards, which are small birds, and are remarkable for having but three claws. As food they are condemned by some, and lauded by others, among whom is our author. The theme is, probably, *ὀς, the ear*, as they have this organ larger than any other bird of their size. Their sense of hearing is so acute that sportsmen find it difficult to approach them.

4. δαυδάς, roe-bucks, or rather gazelles.

8. πάντες ἰσάουσιν, they did the same, that is, they ran on before and then halted.

18 19. *ἔπει μὲν, unless where.*

21. *μὲν χιτῶν.*] The pronoun *αὐτοῖς* is here understood, instead of the accusative; as the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the participle *νυμίζων*. See F. Rule IV, Exc.

23. *ἔν.*] The verb *εἶπαι* is often used in this elliptical sense, meaning power or possibility; as *ἔν ἐννοεῖν*, it was to perceive, that is, any one might perceive.

24. *πλάτος χώρας*, from the extent of its territory; *πλάθος ἀνθρώπων*, from the number of its inhabitants.

25. *ἐν δισπάρσει.*] See F. Rule XXX.

30. *εὐχιδίαις*, with rafts. This word is an adjective, meaning, suddenly, hastily done, from *εὐχιδίᾳ*, adv. near; and it agrees with *ναυαί*, understood; *εὐχιδίαις ναυαί*, with boats or rafts made for the occasion.

30. *Διφθίρας*, skins, of which the tents of the soldiers were usually made, and with which, after being stuffed in the manner here described, rivers were often crossed. The Euphrates, according to Buckingham, is even now continually crossed, by men and boys, upon goat-skins tightly filled with air. They extend themselves upon this buoyant substance, clasp their arms around one end of it, throw their legs over the sides of the other end, and, by the propelling motion of their feet, cross the river with considerable rapidity.

31. *συνῆγον καὶ συνέσαν*, drew them together and stitched them. *Συνέσαν* from *συνάω*.

31. *ἐπέπλασαν χίτων.*] See F. Rule XXIII.

33. *βάλανον.*] The Persians made a very agreeable wine from dates, the fruit of the palm tree. *Βάλανος* is the fruit, and *φαινέξ* the tree.

19 3. *Ἀμφιλιέμενοι τι*, disputing about something.

10. *τοῖς πρὶ ἀντίοις*, friends, companions.

11. *πρὸς ἄλαντι*, was marching with the army.

24. *ἔργον.*] *Ἐαυτοῦ σθένος*, understood.

24. *ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ὅπλα*, ordered arms, that is, made his soldiers stand to their arms, to be prepared for any emergency.

26. *ἔτι, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν*, that, while he himself narrowly escaped being stoned to death, he (that is, Proxenus) should speak, &c.

20 4. *ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγίνετο*, he came to himself, that is, was convinced of his rashness.

5. *πρὸς τὰς χώρας*, to their places.

CHAPTER VI.

6. ἰχνη.] A diminutive noun, the theme of which is ἰχνησ. 20
7. στίβος, (from στίβω, to tread,) signifies the path or the print of the feet upon the sand.
10. τὰ πολεμικα, in military science; κατὰ is understood. Διγήμενοι, ranked.
14. κωλύειν τοῦ καίειν ἐπὶόντας, literally, would prevent them going about, from burning, that is, would prevent them from going about, and laying waste the country by fire. See F. Rules XXIII and XXX.
27. ἐπτά.] "We often find a council of seven mentioned by the writers, who treat of the affairs of Persia; which council seem to have been instituted in memory of the seven Persian noblemen, who put the Magi to death, of whom Darius Hystaspes, afterwards king of Persia, was one." Spelman.
4. ἐξηγγίλει τὴν κρίσιν, he gave an account of the trial. 21
5. ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου, to begin or open the consultation.
9. σουτοῦ.] See F. p. 57, Obs. after αὐτοῦ.
9. γάρ.] This conjunction may be considered as declarative, giving additional force to the sentence with which it is connected, and may be rendered truly, verily. But it is always, strictly speaking, causal, and connects something understood with its own sentence. Here we might supply, *I have taken this course for, &c.*
10. ἰσὺ δὲ παχθείς, afterwards, being commanded, &c. Cyrus intends, by the clause ὡς ἴφη αὐτός, to accuse Orontes out of his own mouth, since, although a subject of Cyrus, he acted in obedience to the king.
18. κακῶς.] See F. Rule XXV, Obs. 2.
18. ἰδύμεν.] Second person sing. imperf. of δύναμαι.
19. ἴγνως τὴν εἰσαυτοῦ δύναμιν, conscious of thy own power, meaning to imply his want of power.
20. ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρτέμιδος βωμόν.] The altar of Diana at Ephesus is, probably, alluded to here. It was usual for criminals to fly to the altars of the deities for protection, and, these places being esteemed sacred, no one could forcibly drag the suppliant from his place of refuge. To add force and solemnity to an oath also, it was customary to swear with one hand (ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν).

21 21. ἰσμεν.] This is the imperfect, for ἰσμεν, by the Æolic dialect which adds *σ*. The Ionic sometimes removes the augment, by *σφαρτῆς*, making *σμεσ*.

27. γάρ.] See note on line 9. *I must own it, you, &c.*

22 3. τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον ἴσμεν, as far as regards him. But to be more critical, τὸ is in the accusative and connected with *ἴσμεν*, and they together, used as a substantive, are governed by *κατὰ* understood: τὸ ἴσμεν, as to being, as to our connexion, as far as we are connected with him, or as far as we may be in connexion with him. See *Matthiæ*, Art. 539, and 282, p. 409.

6. ἰλάσσοντο τῷ ζώνῃ.] It was customary among the Persians to lay hold of the criminal's girdle when he was condemned to death. See F. Rule XIX.

6. ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, to put him to death.

8. προσκύνουσιν.] The Persians used to salute their king, or any one of his court, by total prostration of the body, and kissing the feet.

11. ἀσπερφόχων.] The sceptre was, as it now is, an ensign of great dignity. The sceptre-bearers were probably a life-guard around the person of the king.

CHAPTER VII.

18. εἰς τὴν βρισηύην ἔα, upon the following morning; *ἔα* from *ἔα*.

22. ἀντίμελοι, deserters; from *ἀντί* and *μέλις*, going spontaneously.

27. εἴη ἀπερῶν, not from a want of, not being in need of. F. Rule XVIII, 6.

29. Ὅμως.] This exhortative particle is frequently used in this elliptical manner, especially among the Attics. The verb to be supplied is *εἰσενῆναι*, or *ἐπαρῆς*, see to it, or look to it, that, &c.

23 3. ὦν.] See F. Rule VI. Exc. 1.

5. Τί πλῆθος.] See F. Rule XLII.

6. ἰσίων.] Ionic for *ἰσῶν*, they come upon you, or are accustomed to attack.

6. τέλλα.] Governed by *κατὰ*, understood. Weiske has a comma after *δουῖ*, Schneider and Dindorf have not. If the comma

be retained, it will read thus: *if you are able to withstand these, and methinks I am ashamed to make any other supposition, you will know what kind of men there are in this country of ours.* 'Ημῶν may be governed by χάρις, or ἀνθρώπους; if by the latter, we should translate it, *what these men of ours are.* If there be no comma after δεκά, the passage may be rendered, *and in other respects, methinks I am ashamed that you should know, &c.* Observe the difference between ἀνθρώπους and ἀνδρῶν. The same distinction exists in Latin between *homo* and *vir*.

9. ὅμων τὸν μὲν βουλέμιναι, *whoever of you, indeed, may wish.*

10. τοῖς οἰκίαις ζηλωτῶν, *envied by those at home.*

10. ὃ' οἶμαι ποιήσιν, *but, methinks, I shall effect.*

14. τοιούτων.] Καίριον understood.

20. ἴσον, Attic for οὔτινος, from ἴστις. The latter part of the preceding sentence is understood here: *οὐ δύναται αἰετὶς εἰ ἀνθρώπων, which is uninhabitable by reason of the cold.*

21. σατραπείων, *govern in the capacity of satraps.*

22. τοῦτοι ἐγκρατεῖς.] See F. Rule XIII.

23. μὴ οὐκ.] With infinitives after negative propositions or verbs, these two negatives are equivalent to the Latin *quā*, or *quominus*; as, οὐδὲν ἐλλείψω τὸ μὴ οὐ ποιεῖσθαι, Soph. "I will leave nothing undone but that I may ascertain," &c. But where the opt., subj., or indic. follows, μὴ οὐ are equivalent to *ne non*; as, ὥςτις οὐ τοῦτο δίδωκε, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω, "so that I have no fears of this, that I shall not have," or "lest I should not have," &c. Matthiæ, art. 608.

24. ἂν εἰ γίνηται, *if the event prove favorable.*

23. ὥδι πως, *somewhat in this manner.*

33. Οἷον.] The Attics, in some verbs, terminate the second person singular of the pres. ind. pass. in *ω* as βούλω, οἷω, ἔψω. See F. p. 88.

5. ἀσπίς is here, by metonymy, put for ἀσπίδοφιον.

7. δεσποτηφία.] See Antiq. Part. 8. Chap 2.

8. ἱκανὸν καὶ ἑκατὶ μυριάδης.] As μυριάς signifies a *myriad*, or *ten thousand*, the army of the king consisted of twelve hundred thousand; but this probably does not mean fighting men, but includes all the followers of the army.

25. ἐργασί.] See Antiq. — Appendix.

- 24 30. *πλαῖα*.] For the difference between this word and *πῆς*, see Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 1.

32. *παρ' αὐτὸν ἐν Εὐφράτῃ*, on the side towards the river Euphrates. This *τάφρος ἔσκαψεν* was a temporary trench dug by Artaxerxes for the protection of his camp, and wholly distinct from the *δύστροις*, canals, which were opened between the Euphrates and Tigris for purposes of agriculture and navigation. This trench however was left unfinished for the last twenty feet towards the Euphrates, and through this narrow pass (*πύλινος στενὸς*) Cyrus marched.

- 25 1. *ἀπὸ ἰσχυράτου*, instead of a fortification or rampart.
 12. *δύνα δάκρυα*.] From this it appears that ten talents and three thousand darics were equal.
 18. *τὸ δὲ πλεονέκτα*, the greater part of the army.

CHAPTER VIII.

21. *ἀπὸ ἀγορῆς πλείουσαν*, about the full-market time, which was the third hour, or nine o'clock in the morning. It is not unusual to find in the classics the time of day denoted by the employment of it.

22. *ἡ στυμμία*, the place for encampment.

23. *ἐνὰ πρῶτος*, at full speed.

- 26 11. *παρμηνηδίας*.] See Antiq. Part. 8. Chap. 2.

12. *ψιλῆν*.] This word does not here mean, bare of every thing, but destitute in relation to what goes before. The Greeks had helmets upon their heads, but Cyrus' head was destitute of the helmet: that is, he only wore the tiara, or turban, according to Plutarch, who says, that in this battle the tiara of Cyrus fell from his head.

14. *ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς*, with only the tiara upon their heads. Weiske and Wytttenbach think that this sentence, from *λίγισται* to *διαπνδονίστην*, is spurious. For, in the first place, it is at variance with what has been said before of the equipage of Cyrus' six hundred horse; and, secondly, Xenophon would not have used the word *λίγισται*, in reference to a fact which he might have seen with his own eyes. Some would wish to insert *παλαιούς*, instead of *ἐλλούς*, thereby confining this custom to the ancient Persians: others, *παλλῶν*.

19. δειλν.] The time denoted by this word is about the middle of 26 the afternoon, or three o'clock.

20. ευχρῆ.] The word *ευχρῆς* means *dense, crowded*, and hence, much, abundant : *χρῆν δὲ οὐ ευχρῆ*, and in not a long time.

22. ἤστρεπτοι, began to glitter.

25. γιγθοφόροι, buckler-bearers, so called from the Persian shield *γίθρον*, which was made of osiers and covered with hide.

28. κατὰ ἔθνη, according to their nations, or each nation by itself.

28. πλασίον.] The difference between *πλασίον* and *πλασίον*, is, that the former is an oblong, the latter a square, to denote which Xenophon uses *πλασίον τεταπλυνον*, and not *πλασίον*. See *Arriani Tactica*, p. 69. Also, compare Book 3. Chap. 4.

29. διακείμενα ευχρῆ, separated at a considerable distance, where *ευχρῆς* is used adverbially or with *κατὰ* understood.

32. ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις, under the seats of the charioteers.

32. ὡς διακείμεν.] See F. Rule XXIX. Obs. 3.

1. ἰλόντων.] This is the future participle, Attic form, for *ἰλ- 27*
όντων, from *ἰλάνω*, fut. *ἰλῶσω*, dropping the *σ*, and contracting, *ἰλῶ*. It is used with *ὡς*, in the genitive absolute. See F. Rule XXXII. Obs. 6.

4. ὡς ἀνευρίν, as much as possible.

4. ἰς ἴση.] Supply *βήματι*, with an equable pace.

5. ἰς τούτῳ.] *Χρῆν* is here understood : at this time.

6. τῷ Κλειάρχῳ ἰβέα.] The battle of Cunaxa, as Major Hennell well observes, appears to have been lost through the error of Clearchus in not following the counsel, or rather in not obeying the orders of Cyrus, to bring up his men against the centre of the enemy, in which the king was posted ; "for," says he, "if we break *that*, our work is done." The king had such a superiority of numbers, that when he stood in the centre of his own army, he was beyond the left wing of that of Cyrus ; and Clearchus, fearing to be surrounded, could not be prevailed upon to withdraw his *right* wing from the river. As the king, therefore, found that no one opposed him in front, he wheeled to the *left* in order to surround Cyrus' army. It was then that Cyrus advanced to attack the king, and broke and dispersed the strong body of choice cavalry which attended him ; but in the pursuit he himself was left almost unattended, and in a rash and furious attack on the king was slain by an obscure individual.

- 27 It may therefore be inferred that had Clearchus brought his forces to the centre of the king's army, the event would have been totally different. No one can doubt but that victory would have attended the steps of the Greeks; and a victory in the centre would either have placed the king in the power of Cyrus, or driven him out of the field. But then we should have been without the "Anabasis," the choicest piece of ancient military history, and fairly worth the history of all the Persian dynasties since that period.

17. *ἐν αὐτῷ, in the same place.*

18. *ἐν τοῖς ποσσίν, from the soldiers as they came up.*

21. *ὑπελάσαντες, having ridden up.*

22. *ῥησθέντες,] having stopped for the purpose of hearing him.* Bornemann renders it *animum ad Xenophontem advertens.*

29. *δύχομαι, (ἐν αἰσῇ understood,) I receive the omen: or supply ἐν Δία εὐεῖρα καὶ νίκην.*

32. *ἰσχυρίζομαι.] The Greeks used to sing two pæans; one, before the battle, to Mars; and the other after the battle, to Apollo.*

33. *ἰξινύμηναι.] The metaphor contained in this word is very beautiful. The theme is κύμα, a wave; for as the wave lifts its head above the level expanse of the waters, so here, a part of the army, undulates or fluctuates from the rest, in its eagerness to engage in battle.*

- 28 2. *Ἐνυαλίη] This is an epithet of Mars, derived from Ἐνυά, Bellona, the goddess of war. After the pæan was sung it was usual, before going into battle, to invoke the aid of Mars, under this appellation.*

3. *Δίγονται δὲ τῆς.] The question has been asked, why does Xenophon, who was present at the battle, relate a circumstance on the authority of others? To this it may be answered here, that he could not be present at different parts of the army at the same time, and that what he now speaks of, occurred elsewhere than where he had his station.*

5. *εἰςέταρτα.] Supply πρὸς or εἰς αὐτοὺς, before an arrow reached them, that is, before they came within bow-shot.*

8. *Τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἑλόμενα καὶ μί, and the chariots were borne along, some, &c.*

10. *ὡρὴν ἑσθλὴν δίδουσαν, when they saw them coming at a distance, they divided, or opened their ranks.*

10. ἔστι ὃ τις, literally, *there was one who, that is, some one*: κατελήφθη, *was seized, was caught up*: ἐσπληγίς, *being struck with astonishment (ob repentinum adventum hostium; Lex. Xen.)* Schneider remarks, *Persæ enim curribus falcatis insistentes pugnabant, Græci eos vitubant laxatis ordinibus; pauci iniqui dentes correpti a curribus et dejecti fuerunt.*

11. οὐδὲν μίσει οὐδὲ.] This repetition of negatives, in Greek, gives great additional force to the negation.

15. τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς, *the part opposite to themselves.*

17. οὐδ' ὡς ἐξήχθη, *neither was he thus excited*: ὡς for ὡς-εως.

18. συνσπικνύμενον, *conglobated around him.*

25. μίσει.] *Mises* understood.

28. ὡς τις κύκλωσιν.] This was done in order to surround the army of Cyrus.

5. οὐκ ἠνέχετο, *could not contain himself*, from ἀνέχεμαι.

9 ἰναυθα μαχόμεναι.] This appears to be in the nominative absolute, for the genitive, *more Attico.*

CHAPTER IX.

22. ἐκτελέσθαι.] The primitive meaning of this verb is, *to conclude, to bring to an end*; hence, when it signifies *to die*, the ellipsis, *ἐν βίᾳ*, is to be supplied.

25. δοκούντων ἐν οικίᾳ γινέσθαι, *who were reputed to be on intimate terms with Cyrus*: δοκούντων, according to Schneider and the Lex. Xen., is here redundant.

28. ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις, *at the court.*

29. σωφροσύνη, *modesty*, as opposed to αἰσχρότης, *indecent, impure.*

5. τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑποδυσσείρων, *than those who were inferior to him.*

7. "Ἐπειτα.] "Ἀφρασι is here to be supplied.

11. οὐκ ἔτρεψε, *he did not cowardly fly from.*

13. εἰλος, *at last*, used adverbially with κατὰ understood.

19. ὅτι πλεῖστον ποιεῖτο, *that he esteemed it of the highest importance.*

20. τῇ.] The article is often put by the Attics, for the indefinite pronoun *εἷς*. See Matthiæ, Art. 266.

- 30 24. *παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς*, *contrary to the treaty*. *Σπονδὰς*, is a verbal noun, from *σπίνδω*, to *pour out*, and properly signifies *libations* of wine poured upon the head of the victim at the time of sacrifice. But as these libations were made at the ratification of treaties, the word is frequently put for the treaty itself.

27. *αποδοῦναι*, to *give up* or *betray*; second aor. mid. of *προσῆμι*.

32. *καὶ ἔρχην δὲ τινὲς αὐτοῦ ἑξίφισιν*, and some report an express wish of his.

- 31 1. *ἐλιξιμένοις*.] See F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 6.

2. *τῶν ἱφ' ἡμῶν*, of the men in our age, those of our time.

5. *καταγελᾶν*.] Supply *τῶν νόμων*, to hold the laws in derision, or *αὐτοῦ* referring to Cyrus.

7. *τιδῶν*.] Among the Persians criminals were punished by being deprived of some of their limbs, and in this situation were exposed in the public streets. For the government of this gen. see F. Rule XXIII and XXVII.

9. *ἔχοντι δὲ τι προχωρεῖν*, carrying with him whatever he pleased. *Προχωρεῖν* primarily means to advance forward, hence to succeed, hence to be advantageous to, as it might here be rendered. The sense of the passage is, that "in the province of Cyrus any one could travel with safety, and carry with him whatever might be necessary either for his support on his journey, or for purposes of trade, without any fear of being molested by robbers."

20. *Εἰς γὰρ μὴν*.] This is an elliptical expression for *κατὰ τὸ εἰς γὰρ μὴν δικαιοσύνην ἦσαν*, as to that which pertains to justice.

21. *περὶ πάντος ἐσθιῦτο πικρῶν*, he esteemed it of the greatest importance to render, &c. Observe the transition from the singular, in *τ.ε.*, to the plural in *τούτους*, which is frequent with our author.

22. *Καὶ γὰρ εἶν.*] The particles of the Greek language constitute one of its peculiar beauties. But it is often impossible to give their full force, and exhibit the ideas which each conveys, in a translation. *Γὰρ καὶ* may be rendered, *for besides*; after the first *καὶ* something is understood, *besides WHAT I HAVE MENTIONED*, &c.; the particle *εἰ*, after *ἄλλα* corresponds to *καί*, before *σφραγισμέναι*. The verb *διεχειρίζετο* is in the middle voice, and *αὐτῷ* would seem to be redundant. But in reality it gives the middle verb more force; *he managed to his great advantage*. Townsend makes the verb in the passive and *πολλὰ* the nominative to it. But is it not connected with *ἐχρήσατο*

by καί? For besides what I have said, therefore, he both wisely con- 31
ducted, with great advantage to himself, many other departments of
his government, and possessed an army deserving the name. Ἀλη-
θινῇ, true, real, one that could discharge all the duties incumbent upon
it, and answer the purposes for which it was organized.

24. λοχαγός.] See Antiq. Part 8, Chap. 4.

30. διόν, vigilant, energetic, possessing the qualities of a governor
or steward in an extraordinary degree.

31. ἐν τοῦ δικαίου, justly, that is, on principles of justice.

32. κατασκευάζοντα, improving or cultivating the country.

33. ἀφίλις.] Supply ταύτην τὴν χάραν.

7. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, for in relation to any particular thing: 32
κατὰ is to be supplied.

8. ὡς συνεργοὶ ἔχουσιν, that he might have them as coadjutors.

11. διὰ πολλὰ.] Αἵτια is to be supplied: διὰ πολλὰ αἵτια, upon
many accounts.

11. εἰς γὰρ ἄνθρωπον, for one man, for a single individual.

12. διδίδου.] The imperfect tense of verbs in μι is very little
used; but, in its stead, the imperfect of the circumflexed verbs from
which they are derived is generally found; as from διδῶ, διδῶ,
imp. διδου, διδου, διδου, for διδω, διδω, διδω. F. bottom
of p. 107.

13. ἐρήνη.] See F. p. 103, Obs. 3.

15. εἰς πέλιμον.] That is, coats of mail, rich swords, &c.; εἰς
καλλωπισμὸν, such as golden chains, bracelets, tunics, &c.

17. κοσμεῖσθαι.] Bornemann and Dindorf read κοσμεῖσθαι, which
is preferable.

20. τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων, but that he should sur-
pass his friends both in zeal, &c.

25. τοῦτον.] Ὁ φέρων τὸν, the bearer of the present says, or some
similar phrase, may here be inserted.

33. ὡς μὴ ἔγνωσιν.] A very refined idea: that even the
horses which carried his friends might not suffer from hunger.

1. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτὶς περιέβητο, whenever he went abroad.

2. ἐκπαιδευομένου, he used to talk with them earnestly. Hutch- 33
inson says, gravibus de rebus sermonem habebat, which would be
rendered, "he used to talk with them on business or affairs of state."
But we think the sense is, that he held close and familiar conver-

33 *actions with his friends, that the spectators might perceive who were the most honored.*

6. δούλου, subject.

7. καὶ οὗτος δὲ, and this man also, referring to Orontes, and not to the king, as Hutchinson understands it. For Orontes found that the very person, whom he thought the most loyal to him, was far more faithful to Cyrus.

13. τὸ ἐντῷ γινόμενον, what happened to him.

16. συντράπεζαι, literally, those who sat at his table, — his daily guests.

CHAPTER X.

27. Φωκαῖα, a Phocaean, whose name was Aspasia.

28. ἐν σοφίᾳ, accomplished, witty.

29. ἡ πωτήρ.} That is, ἡ πωτήρ παλλακίς.

34 1. πρὸς τῷ 'Ελλήνων.] Τὸ στρατιώδου, or ἐν στραμί, is here to be supplied, to the camp, or station, of the Greeks, or, as we should say, using the possessive case, to the Greeks', that is, to the Greeks' camp. So, in English, 'to the bookseller's', 'to the printer's'.

1. οἱ Ἰνυχον Ἰππὰ Ἰχοντις, who happened to be standing armed.

4. καὶ ταύτης.] Referring to Aspasia.

5. ἐντὸς αὐτῶν, within them, that is, within their camps.

6. διέσχον.] See F. Rule XVIII, 13.

7. οἱ μὲν refer to the Greeks; οἱ δὲ, to the Persians.

8. καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, opposite to themselves.

8. ὡς πάντας νικῶντας.] Stephens thinks the reading should be πάντα, but πάντας seems to be perfectly proper: as if they had conquered all the enemy: οἱ ἤδη πάντας νικῶντας, as if they all were the victors, that is, as if their own troops had gained the victory in every part of the field.

12. τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς.] Supply μέρος or στρατιῶμα.

12. ὄχλων διώκοντες, were marching in pursuit.

18. συνεραφίντες, having faced about. The Greeks had pursued one wing of the enemy for some distance, when Artaxerxes, having plundered the camp of Cyrus, turned about in order to fall on their rear (πρὸς τὸν ὀπίσθιον).

19. ταύτη.] Supply *μερὲς*, in that part. See Bos. "*Ellipsis Nominaum*," under *μέρις*. 34

19. ὡς ταύτη περιμέντες καὶ διζήμενοι.] Laroher, Wytenbach, Bornemann, and Dindorf, read *περιμέντες* agreeing with *βασιλῆος* understood, which would be in the gen. absolute. After *διζήμενοι* supply *αὐτόν*, and translate the whole "that as the king came up in this way they might receive him." Zeuner goes so far as to say, "*περιμέντες sine sensu est.*"

19. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπαλᾶν.] The king, in returning, did not go in a direction towards the Greeks, but went back the same way that he advanced before, namely, without the left wing of the Greeks, leading back, &c.

20. ἰσχυρόν.] Xenophon here considers the Greek army as it stood at the commencement of the battle; otherwise, it having faced about, what was the left wing had become the right.

25. διαστάντες.] See page 28, line 9, where the motion made to admit the passage of the chariots through their columns, was the same as that made here, for the passage of Tissaphernes' cavalry.

28. ὡς μῦθον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, literally, as he had departed, having himself inferior.

29. πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, did not return back again, for he feared that it would not be safe, and therefore pushed his way through to the camp of the Greeks, where he found the king.

2. Ἐν ᾧ (χρόνῳ understood), At the time when, while.

3. παραμειψάμενος, changing his position: φάλαγγα is governed by *πατίσταςιν*, and not by *παραμειψάμενος*, as some have thought.

8. ἐκ πλείονος, for a long distance, over a long space.

10. ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γάλοφος, for there was an eminence beyond the village.

10. ἐφ' οὗ ἀνιστρέφθησαν, upon which they faced about.

12. δῖσι.] Supply *τοὺς Ἕλληνας*, as the accusative before *γινώσκουσιν*: τὸ ποιοῦμενον, what was doing or being done.

13. ἐπὶ εἰλῆτος ἀνισταμένους, with its wings extended, upon a spear.

16. οὐ μίνητι ἓτι ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις, not indeed any longer in a body, but some one way and some another.

22. ἀπὸ κρᾶτος, with all their might, at full speed.

24. ἀνιστάμενοι, rested upon their arms.

- 35 28. προηλασίναι, *had pushed forward*: παταλιζόμενον τι, *in order to take possession of some port*. F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 6.
33. ἄλλαν.] This word, in its exceptive sense, refers to *ἐντίω*, ἃ *ἐντίω*, *they found all their other effects plundered*, besides the provisions.
- 36 6. ἔσαν δὲ καὶ ἀδύκοντα, *they had also been deprived of their dinner*: παταλῶσαι, *to halt*, which has the sense of *loosing down*, or *loosing to lay down*, is used of soldiers laying aside their accoutrements, to take their meals, and of travellers alighting for lodgment or refreshment. The name for an inn is *νοτάλειον*, both in ancient and modern Greek.

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

1. ἀρρίσθη Κῆρυ, *was collected together by Cyrus.* 37
2. ἀνίδη.] This word is synonymous with ἀνάστασις.
5. τῇ ἡμερᾷ.] See F. Rule II, Obs. 10.
6. Ἄμα.] This adverb, when joined with the dative of time, signifies *immediately with* : as ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, *immediately with the day, or at day-break.*
9. εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, *forward.* To supply the ellipsis, εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου πρόσθεν, *to the place which is before.*
11. Τευθρανίας.] Teuthrania was a city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, of which Procles was governor. He was a descendant of Damaratus, one of the kings of Sparta.
12. Ταμώ.] Tamos was of Memphis, and admiral to Cyrus, after whose death he sailed with his fleet to Egypt.
15. καὶ λέγει, *and he would say, or and he says* : supply Ἀριστῶς.
18. ἀνθιπνέμενοι, *on hearing the news.*
19. Ἄλλ' ὄφελος μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν, *Truly Cyrus ought to have lived, or Would that Cyrus were still alive !* When the verb ὀφείλω is used in this sense, expressing strong desire, the particle εἴθε is usually joined with it ; though it is sometimes omitted, as in this case.
5. τὸ ἄρχεν, *the government.* 38
9. περιμένει, *awaited their return.*
10. ζώοντες.] Observe that this participle is in the plural, to agree with the individuals implied in the collective noun, στρατιῶμα. F. Rule II, Obs. 1.
12. οὓς ἀνάγκηζεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας, *which the Greeks had compelled the deserters from the king to throw away.* Ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν is here understood, governed by ἐβάλλειν *to*

38 *throw from their hands.* Spelman renders ἐκβάλλω, "to pull out of the ground," which is evidently incorrect.

14. γόμφας, *wicker bucklers*, — governed by ἐχεῖντες, above.

15. φέρεσθαι.] Schneider and Muretus omit this word. Hutchinson would connect it with ἄμαξαι only, having τῶν ὑπεζυγίων understood, and implying that the chariots were destitute of the beasts of burden, and could not be drawn. But πύλται, being connected with ἄμαξαι by the conjunction, seems also to belong to φέρεσθαι. The sense therefore is, *that the bucklers and the empty chariots were carried away from the field, for the purpose of fuel.*

21. ἐμπέριμον τῶν ἀμφί, π. τ. λ., *skilled in every thing that appertains to military tactics and the exercise of arms.*

25. ἐπιεικισθαι τι ἀγαθόν, *to obtain some favor.*

28. τῶν νεώτερον.] See F. Rule XVII.

32. τὰ ἐντέα, *the entrails of the victim sacrificed.* The sentence, from ἐκάλειτο το θυμῖνος, is parenthetical.

39 4. τί, *why*, is governed by κατὰ understood.

5. σίσις, *by means of persuasion*: τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, *what will the soldiers receive, or what profit will it be to them?*

11. εἰ παρίχαι ὑμῖν, *if he should deliver them up to you.*

20. ἡ νειομένη. Some editions read Εὐνοφῶν, instead of Θείοις πομπῇς, in the thirteenth line, thereby making our author one of the parties in this dialogue. But the weight of authority is in favor of Θείοις πομπῇς.

25. ἄλλο τα.] Governed by κατὰ or εἰς understood.

27. 'Εν τούτῳ.] That is, ἐν τούτῳ χρόνῳ.

30. ἄσμενος.] See F. Rule II, Obs. 8.

31. καὶ ἡμεῖς, *as we also are*; that is, Ἕλληνες ἐσμῖν.

33. συμβουλευόμεθα σοι, *we ask your advice*, the verb being in the middle voice.

40 2. εἴσω.] This is the future of φέρω, from the obsolete δω.

2. χρόνος ἀναλογόμενος.] There is a peculiar force in this expression; Ἔστω χρόνος may be translated *posterity*, and ἀναλογόμενος, *recapitulating, scrutinizing.* The sense is, *Consider what will redound most to your honor with posterity, when they shall con over these actions and exploits of ours.*

4. συμβουλευόμενος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, *to them consulting him.*

7. ταῦτα ἐνήγιστο, *artfully introduced these remarks.*

40

9. ὅπου ἐρίψας, *having adroitly evaded a direct answer.*

CHAPTER II.

12. τὰ ἱερά, *the sacrifices.*

41

13. Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρα οὐκ ἐγγίγνιστο, *And for a very good reason indeed they were not favorable.*

16. οἶον.] This adjective is elegantly used in this elliptical manner, having the signification of *possibility*, with *ταῖς* understood: as οὐ μίνυν οἶον, *it is not possible to remain*, for οὐ ταῖς οἶον μίνυν, *THE CASE is not such as to permit us to remain.*

17. παρὰ, *to*; on page 40, line 10, it means *contrary to*.

19. ἀπὸ πάντων διευνῶν, *that we all retiring should sup, &c.* The accusative is not unfrequently used in this manner, before the infinitive, for the imperative.

20. σημήνη.] See F. Rule III, Obs. 1.

20. ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι, *as if it were the signal for retiring to rest.*

21. ἀνατίθετε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, *put the baggage upon the sumpter horses.*

22. τῇ τρίτῃ.] That is, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ σημείῳ, *at the third signal.*

23. πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *next to the river.*

23. τὰ δὲ ὄπλα.] Ὀπλά is here put for ὀπλίτας, *the heavy-armed troops.*

25. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν.] Supply the ellipsis καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου, *and for the future.*

25. ὁ μὲν.] Referring to Κλίμαχος.

26. οἷα δὲ.] Supply φρονεῖν.

28. ἐξ Ἐφίσου.] Supply πόλεως.

28. μέχρι τῆς μάχης, *as far as the battle-ground, which was Canaxa* So ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, *from the battle-ground.*

29. παρασάγγαι.] Hence it appears that 535 parasangs equal 16,050 stadia, or 1 parasang equals 30 stadia. "If the whole number of marches in the history of the Expedition and Retreat, together with

- 41 the number of parasangs, as summed up by Xenophon, in Books II, V, and VII, he noted, that is, 93 marches equal to 535 parasangs, from Sardis to the field of battle at Cunaxa, and 122 marches, giving 620 parasangs from thence to Cotyora, there will be an aggregate of 215 marches and 1155 parasangs. And accordingly, by this statement, the *mean* march of the Greeks, taken throughout the whole Expedition and Retreat, is equal to 5.36 parasangs, or reckoned in British miles, as nearly 15 as possible." Rennell. See also note on page 4, line 20.
- 42 11. ἄριστον.] This is the third person plur. first aor. of ἄριστος.
 14. σφάξαντες.] Among all the nations of antiquity it was the custom to sanction and strengthen every important proceeding, particularly leagues and treaties, by sacrifices. The Scythians used to dip the points of their spears into the blood of the immolated victim, as a confirmation of their oaths of fidelity. See Antiq. Part 5, Chap. 5.
 15. εἰς ἀσπίδα, into a shield. The shields or bucklers of the Greeks had a prominence in the middle of that side which was presented to the enemy, called ἑμφαλὴς, a boss, for the purpose of glancing off missive weapons: consequently there was a corresponding concavity on the inner side.
 20. "Ἦν.] This is governed by κατὰ understood; κατὰ ἣν ὁδόν, the way by which.
 21. ἀπολείμεθα.] See ἀπόλλυμι.
 26. Πιστοῖον.] This neuter adjective has the force of obligation, being similar to the Latin gerund. See F. Rule XXXIV.
 30. οὐκίτι.] This adverb may qualify some verb or verbal understood, as οὐκ ἔτι φοβησίοις, μή, &c. "we need no longer fear that the king will be able."
 43 3. "Ἦ, δὲ δυναμῖν, this plan of the general was calculated for nothing else," &c.
 5. ἐν διέξῃ ἰχοντες εὐὸν ἤλιον. They were therefore marching to the north.
 17. ἀκνημέναι, worn down with fatigue.
 21. κατισκηνώσιν, they pitched their tents: from κατὰ and σκηναίαι, which is from σκηνή.
 21. ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος.] Schneider, Weiske, and Dindorf, read ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλεὺς στρατεύματος.

24. *ὡς ἐγγύχων ἴκαστα*, where they happened to be, that is, without any regularity or method. 43

26. *τῶν πολεμίων.*] This genitive is not governed by *ἐγγύχων*, but by *οἱ*, used partitively: *those of the enemy who were nearest.*

4. *ἅς ἂν τὸν ἀφίνα μανύσῃ*, whoever shall discover the one that has let loose, &c. Bornemann thinks that Clearchus here had in his mind the fable of Æsop, which relates the exploits of the ass in a lion's skin. Whether this be the allusion or not, the satire upon the tumult of the soldiers is admirable, and must have been far more effective in quieting them than any commands. For if the noise proceeded from fear, the soldiers saw at once the perfect absence of fear in their generals, and were calmed; but if from revelry, the comparison shamed them into silence. 44

CHAPTER III.

19. *ἐκέλευε*, sent for, and not *ἐκέλευε*, ordered, as some editions have it.

27. *οὐδὲ ὁ τελευτήσων λίγυν*, neither is there any one so bold as to speak, — a truly Spartan reply.

3. *ἡγούμεναι*, guides, persons to conduct the army. 45

4. *αὐτοῖς.*] That is, *αὐτοῖς μόνοις.*

6. *ἰούει καὶ ἀπειῶσιν*, with those going and returning, that is, with those who were the bearers of despatches between Artaxerxes and the Greeks.

12. *μὴ ἐπιδόξῃ ἡμῖν*, lest it should not seem advisable to us.

19. *ἀπισθοφυλάκει*, took charge of the rear.

20. *αὐλῶσι*, canals, aqueducts, from *αὐλῶν*. There were many of these canals between the Euphrates and Tigris, constructed for the purpose of watering the intervening country. "In their way to the provision villages, on the short march of the second day, they crossed canals over which it was necessary to make temporary bridges. Whether these were canals drawn from the larger ones, for the purpose of irrigation, such as Xenophon saw near *Sitace*, or whether they were the same which they had crossed in their way downwards, and must have re-crossed in their march northward; or, lastly, whether

- 45 they were not drawn immediately from a branch of the Tigris, for the purpose of irrigation, cannot be known." Rennell.

23. ἢ καταμαθεῖν, literally, *it was to see*, that is, *one could see*. ὡς ἐπιστάται, *how he discharged the duties of a commander*.

25. ἐπισκευάζειν.] That is, those appointed to superintend the passages of the ditches and canals, and remove all obstructions.

26. τὸν ἐπισκευάζοντα.] The primary significations of this word are, *fit, suitable, deserving*. Here it has the last meaning, in reference to the verb which follows, *ἐπαισιν· ἐπισκευάζοντα, deserving punishment*. The meaning is, *and if any of those to whom this work was intrusted, appeared to be lazy, Clearchus selected him, who was worthy of punishment, and chastised him*.

28. πρὸς αὐτόν.] The preposition *πρὸς* seems sometimes to be used with the accusative, denoting the instrument. Here *πρὸς αὐτόν* answers to *ἐκ' αὐτοῦ*, *by him*. Some think the text should be *πρὸς ταῦτα*, *to this work*. Bornemann reads *πρὸς αὐτοῦ*.

32. ἔρα.] From this it appears that the summer, the season for watering the country, had passed.

46

5. ἰψησίον, *prepared by boiling*.

6. οἷας.] An elliptical phrase for *τοιαῦται μὲν οἷας*.

7. ἀπίκνυτο, *are reserved for*.

9. ἡλίετρον.] The color of *amber* is very near that of *gold*.

10. τραγήματα.] Supply *ὡς· παρὰ πότον, inter bibendum*.

11. κεφαλalgίς, *causing the headache, heady*; from *κεφαλῆ, the head*, and *ἄλγος, pain*: ἡδύ, supply *τὸ τραγήμα, used as a dessert*.

11. ἐγκίφαλον, *the pith of the top of the palm tree*.

15. ὅλος ἐξηραίνετο, *was wholly withered up*: from *ἐξηραίνω*.

22. ἀνίκητα, *and insuperable, inexplicable*, for *καὶ ἀμήχανα*.

23. εὑρημα ἐποισάμεν.] The word *εὑρημα* (from *εὕρισκω, to find*), means *any thing found, a discovery*; hence, *an unexpected gain, a profit, or advantage*; *εὑρημα ἐποισάμεν, I considered it as a happy circumstance*.

27. ὅτι, *that*; ὅτι, *because*.

47

11. ἐν δυνῶ, *in difficulty*.

12. ἡσχύνθημεν, *we should deem it shameful, or we should consider it as offering an indignity both to the gods and to men*.

13. παρέχοντες ἡμῶς αὐτοὺς εἰς πονῆν, *having suffered ourselves to be benefited by him, or, to have received favors from him.* 47

24. μινύσαν.] Attic for μινύσκων.

27. σέζων, *to conduct them safely.*

30. ἢ μήν.] These particles contain a strong affirmation, and generally precede an oath. 'Ημῶς, understood, is the accusative before παρίξιν.

CHAPTER IV.

23. πρὶ παντὸς δὲ τιμήσονται, *would esteem it of the greatest consequence.* 48

26. ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν, *but that he will attack us.*

2. καταγιάσαντες, *having held him in derision.* It is said of 49 those who, having offered violence to others, depart with impunity.

7. οὐδ' ἐπέθιν.] That is, οὐδ' οὐδὲ παρίξιν ἐπέθιν.

8. ἀφιστάξιν, *will withdraw*; from ἀφιστάμην, same as ἀφίστημι.

10. ὅστις.] That is, ὅστις φίλος.

19. θεοὺς ἠρωκῆσαι, *to offend the gods by perjury.*

22. ἤγχι δέ.] These words relate to Orontes.

32. ἐν τοῦ αὐτοῦ.] That is, ἐν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου.

3. πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας ταῦχος.] "At the end of the third march 50 from the villages, the Greeks came to the Wall of Media, built of burnt bricks, laid in bitumen, and said to be twenty feet thick, and 100 feet in height. This wall appears to have stretched across the narrow isthmus, between the Tigris and Euphrates, terminating on the former a little above the site of Bagdad, and in the latter not far from the outlet of the *Nahr-Malka* canal. Its length was about 24 British miles, and its use was, to protect the lower and more fruitful parts of Mesopotamia, from the inroads of the Medes or the Assyrians of Ninevah." Rennell.

5. πλίνθος ἠπταῖς, *of burnt bricks.*

13. ἐπὶ τὰς μιλίας.] Supp'y *καταρίμνεται*. 'Επὶ, *for, for the benefit of*, as the *panic* requires much moisture.

15. Σιόακκ.] The modern city upon this place is Bagdad.

23. καὶ ταῦτα.] When *καὶ ταῦτα* are used in this manner they

50 may be rendered, *although, especially, particularly*. Here, *although* is the best translation. There is of course some word to be supplied, as *ἐπειὴ*, and *ἡκείνη* these things coming from *Arizæus*. There is a similar phraseology in our language, — *and that too*. “He did not inquire for Menon, and that too, coming as he did from *Arizæus*.”

51 1. *Νεανίσκος*.] Some suppose that this is *Xenophon*, who modestly calls himself a *youth*.

15. *διελόντες*.] Before Bornemann's edition of *Schneider* appeared, the texts commonly had *διελόντες*, though the commentators observed that *ὅ* should be inserted before it. *Weiske* even inserted *ὅ* without the authority of any manuscript; for otherwise there would be no sense in the passage. The part of the country near *Babylon*, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* was called *ἡ νῆσος*, the island, as rivers and the canals surrounded it on all sides. The Greeks were on this *νῆσος*, and the Persians feared lest (according to *Weiske*) they would not pass the bridge, but keep on the island which was so well defended. But Bornemann happily conjectured that it should be *διελόντες* instead of *διελόντες*, and thereby was under no necessity of inserting *ὅ*. Besides the sense is even better. “The Persians fearing lest the Greeks, tearing down the bridge, would remain on the island,” &c.

19. *ἀποσυρφή*, a refuge, a place of retreat.

27. *διαβαινόντων*.] Genitive absolute, *αὐτῶν* being understood. F. R. XXXIII, Obs. 4.

52 5. *ὡς δύο*.] According to *Vigerus*, two by two, or two deep.

6. *ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενοι*, now and then ordering them to halt.

7. *τὸ ἡγούμενον*, the first part, the van; *μίσος* is to be supplied.

20. *σχιδίαις διφθιρίταις*.] To this day the *Tigris* is crossed in the same manner.

22. *Ζάβανον*.] This river is now called the Greater *Zab*.

25. *συγγινέθαι Τισσαφέρνην*.] The history of the conference between the Grecian generals and *Tissaphernes*, which led to the massacre of the former, by *Clearchus*' falling into the snare so artfully laid for him, is related very circumstantially and clearly by *Xenophon*. By that it appears that the credulity of *Clearchus* was beyond all example; and is the more remarkable, in that he was himself so deeply impressed with the idea of mutual jealousies and suspicions, that

he sought an explanation. But Clearchus had, in his turn, been guilty of treachery and murder, at Byzantium, much in the same way ; and, like other murderers, was perhaps bereft of his judgment and presence of mind, and thus drew down a just punishment upon himself.

CHAPTER V.

8. ἤδη, heretofore : ὅσα ἤδη, I have known, which refers to past time. Observe that ἀνθρώπους, persons, and not ἄνδρας is used.

10. φάσκει, to anticipate, to be beforehand with any one. F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 2.

17. τὸν θεῶν πῶλον, the divine wrath. This sentence contains a sublime description of the omniscience and omnipotence of the Deity.

22. παρ' οἷς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συντίμηκεν κατίδημα, with whom we, having formed an alliance, have entrusted our friendship.

31. ἱφιδρον.] The allusion here to the public games is very beautiful. It was customary for those who entered the lists, as wrestlers, in the Olympic games, to draw lots for their antagonists. A number of pellets were put into an urn, upon every two of which was inscribed the same letter, and those who drew the same letter wrestled together. But if the number of wrestlers was odd, he who drew the odd pellet wrestled last of all with him who had the mastery, and was therefore called ἱφιδρος (from ἰσ and ἕω), as coming after the rest. So Artaxerxes is here called τὸν μίγιστον ἱφιδρον, the most powerful champion ; and Clearchus says, " If we overcome all our other enemies, we have still to contend with the μίγιστον ἱφιδρον."

7. Ἀλλὰ μὲν.] The force of these particles is, " but besides what I have already advanced, I have yet more to remark ; " or, as we should say, but this is not all, for, &c.

16. τφ.] Attic for τρι.

21. τό.] The article joined to the infinitive, which, together, are used as a noun. See Matthiae, Art. 539. F. Rule XXX.

22. δυναὶς λίγων, powerful in speaking, eloquent.

30. ἀντάκουσον, hear me in reply.

5. ταμνίσιναι, to select at our pleasure.

16. ἀνάγκη ἰχμύνειν, of those pressed by want.

- 55 19. *ἔϊν.*] The Attics frequently use the neuter participles *ἔϊν*, *ἰόν*, *παρόν*, absolutely, for the impersonal verb. Thus *ἔϊν*, *when it is lawful*, or, as it means in this place, *when it is in our power*. F. Rule XXXIII, Obs. 3.

25. *ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ.*] The sense is, that, *although, according to the customs of Persia, the king alone be permitted to wear an upright turban upon his head, another may easily preserve an upright heart towards you who so much favor him.*

29. *οὐκοῦν.*] This particle means both *therefore not*, and *therefore*, and receives the accent on the syllable in which the principal meaning is contained: when it signifies *therefore not*, *οὐ* is accented, as *οὐκ οὐκ* · when *therefore*, the latter syllable *οῦν*, as *οὐκοῦν*. It is also used interrogatively in the sense of *therefore not*, as *οὐκοῦν δεῖναι οἱς τὰ ἰσχυρά παθῶν*; *do not those therefore deserve to suffer the severest punishment?*

29. *ταῦτάς παραχίνας.*] A parenthetical clause in the genitive absolute, *since there are so many inducements for us to cultivate friendship.*

- 56 6. *φιλικῶς αἰέμιος διακίωθαι ἐν Τισσαφέρνη.*] Weiske suggests a difficulty in this sentence, arising from the participle *αἰέμιος*, as if Clearchus did not know his own mind. Bornemann would read *Τισσαφέρνην αὐτῷ*, *thinking that Tissaphernes was friendly disposed towards him*. But if *διακίωθαι* be used in a passive sense, the difficulty would be removed: *literally, thinking that it was well disposed by Tissaphernes, that is, that Tissaphernes possessed a friendly feeling towards the Greeks.*

- 57 15. *Ἐπὶ δ' ἴσταντο ὡς ἰσάνουσιν.* *When they had placed themselves in a place where they could be heard.*

26. *νομίζω*, *that you would consider*; Attic for *νομίζουσιν*.

28. *ὥς.*] Some commentators think that this should be *δε*, the adverb, *thus*. But may it not connect *αἰσχύνεσθαι* with *ἐπελωλίσσασθαι* · *do you not stand in fear of both gods and men, THAT you have put to death*, that is, *BECAUSE you have put to death, &c.* Larcher and Schneider reject *ὥς* altogether. Dindorf remarks that "all the commentators do not perceive that Cleanor is intent only upon heaping up proofs of the treachery of Arizus and Tissaphernes, neglecting the elegancies of composition, and style."

CHAPTER VI.

8. Οἱ μὲν.] "The treacherous massacre of the Greek generals 58 and other officers, together with the sudden hostility at the Zabatus, might have effected the entire destruction of their army, had they not been accustomed to encamp apart from the Persians, at the distance of a parasang; which cautious measure appears to have been adopted from the beginning. This gave the Greeks time to stand to their arms, before the Persians could attack them; and as villany seldom sees its way clear enough to accomplish its utmost designs, the Persians do not seem to have taken such advantages, as the occasion offered. Had they kept the main body of their cavalry ready to attack the Grecian camp, at the instant of the massacre, instead of sending a detachment only, to scour the plain and cut off stragglers, irreparable mischief might have been done." Rennell.

13. ἐσέμεινεν, *he remained firmly at home.*

15. ὡς ἰδύνατο.] Weiske would render this, *exerting his greatest influence.* But such a translation would require ὡς ἰδύνατο μέλιστα. Xenophon seems to touch but lightly this unjust act of Clearchus. Ὡς ἰδύνατο may be translated *as he was able, that is, by what means he could.*

16. Ἐφόρων.] See Antiq. Part 4. Chap. 5.

19. Ἰσθμοῦ.] That is, the Isthmus of Corinth.

22. Ἰππιοι.] Xenophon does not mean to say that Clearchus persuaded Cyrus to undertake a war against his brother; but the word Ἰππιοι refers to what follows, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρος μυριάς δαρικαίους.

26. Ἰφρις καὶ Ἰγγυ, *he plundered and laid waste.*

4. ἰζῆν.] See F. Rule XXXIII, Obs. 3: πολυμῶν, see F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 5. 59

5. μίσην ταῦτα ποιεῖν, *to diminish these very riches.*

10. ἀρχαίης, *skilled as a general.*

10. ὡς δυνατὸν . . . ἰχεν, *as far as one could be, from such a disposition as he (Clearchus) possessed.*

12. ἴξιν.] Some editions read ἴχην, in the optative, which, as connected with ἴσως, would seem to be better.

17. ἴτε, *at times.* For as he sometimes punished in anger, he

- 59 would, of course, at times, experience regret, when his passion had subsided.

17. γνώμη, with deliberation.

22. ἀποφασίς, promptly, without hesitation.

24. τὸ στυγίον, sternness; φαιδρίον, mildness.

26. ἠμμύριον, firmness.

33. ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, compelled by necessity.

- 60 3. χρησίμοις, π. τ. λ.] That is, "Whoever could desert him in peace, always did so. But if, from any circumstances, they were compelled to follow his standard, there were many things which tended to make them good soldiers while they were with him."

11. Πλουτ.] Proxenus paid tuition-money to the philosopher Gorgias, as his instructor, who is said to have received a hundred *minæ* (about sixteen hundred dollars) from each pupil.

16. ἐφάρα ἰδηλὸν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, on the other hand he made this disposition strikingly evident, namely, that, &c.

28. εὐμεταχυσίον, one that can be easily imposed upon.

- 61 9. μόνος οἶτο εἶδέναι ῥᾶλλον ὅτι, he supposed himself the only person, who knew it to be an easy thing.

28. ἀγύριος, a youth without a beard.

- 62 1. αἰσθητὴς ἰναυρίῳ, having suffered torture for a whole year. Weiske is of the opinion that Menon might have died from a severe disease, or that the protracted punishment here spoken of, might have been neglect and contempt from the king. But the word *aisthētis*, according to authorities produced by Schneider, was generally, if not always, applied to the death of malefactors who were deprived of their hands and feet, or who suffered death by torture of any kind.

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

17. ἀθύμως ἔχοντες.] Instead of ἀθύμοι ὄντες. Adverbs are often put with the verb ἔχιν in the same sense as the adjectives corresponding to those adverbs, with the verb εἶναι, as καλῶς ἔχου, for καλόν ἐστι. *Matthiæ, Art. 612.* 63

18. ἰλίγαι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαισαν, *few lighted up any fire in the hope of getting victuals to cook.*

18. ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσλᾶ, *to their quarters, where their arms were.*

4. Ξεινοφῶν.] The modesty of Xenophon, in speaking of himself, is here particularly observable. 64

6. ξῖνος δὲ ἀρχαῖος, *having been formerly a guest.*

8. ὁ αὐτὸς ἶφθ περίττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζιν τῆς πατρίδος, *who, in his opinion, he said, would be of greater service to him, than his country.*
 "Ον refers to Cyrus, and ἑαυτῷ to Proxenus.

9. ἀνακοινοῦται, *communicates with, consults with.*

22. ἰστέον.] A neuter adjective, from εἶμι, *to go*, and implies necessity, like the Latin gerund. F. Rule XXXIV.

23. ἤρου.] Imperfect of ἔρομαι.

29. ἡ στρατεία, *the expedition*; λέξῃ from λέγω.

2. Φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδόν, *terrified at the length of the way.*

9. πῇ μὲν, *in some respects*; πῇ δέ, *in other respects.*

19. ἐνί, *in the power of.*

21. ὀβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν, *to die in a most ignominious manner.*

33. οὐδὲ, οὐδὲν.] A double negation, to give additional strength to the remark.

1. εἰ ὀφνησόμεθα, *if we become remiss.*

6. *εἰς τὸ πρῶτον.*] That is, *εἰς τὸ πρῶτον χωρίον*, *before the camp*, 68
where the soldiers were quartered.

22. *μάλιστα ἔχετε καίρῳ*, *you have before you the most important crisis.*

31. *τοῦ πλῆθους*, *than the multitude.*

32. *προεουλεύειν*, *to be superior in counsel.*

3. *ὡς . . . συνιέντι ἰσχυρῶς*, *to speak briefly*: supply *λόγῳ*. 69

6. *Ἐπειδὴ.*] The order is, *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταστήσῃς τοὺς ἔρχονται, ἔσται διττὸ, οἶμαι, ὁμᾶς πᾶν ἂν ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι, ἢ, κ. τ. λ.*

12. *ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται*, *so that they would not dwell upon this alone.*

17. *ἰπποπολύ.*] For *ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ.*

18. *οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ δύνανται*, *those opposing them cannot sustain their attack.* *τούτους* governed by *δύνανται*.

27. *παρκαλιῶν.*] That is, *παρκαλιῶν ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας εἶναι.*

3. *συγκαλῶμεν.*] Porson considers this the future Attic. 70

5. *κέρει.*] See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 6.

CHAPTER II.

19. *ἐκ τῶν παρόντων . . . ἐλθὼν*, *to emerge out of our present difficulties.*

21. *ἀλλὰ*, *certainly, at least.* See Vig. Chap. 8. Sec. 1.

29. *ἐπὶ ταῦτοις*, *in addition to these things, moreover.*

2. *Δίω Ξίνος.*] The Grecian deities had each his peculiar title 71
and province. Jupiter was considered as the guardian of the rites of hospitality and the protector of strangers. Hence he was addressed under the appellation of *Ξίνος*. See Antiq. Part 5. Chap. 5.

22. *τοὺς στρατηγούς.*] The accusative for the nominative, for *ἰδῶντας εἰς οἱ στρατηγοὶ πεινθήσιν.*

27. *πρόβηται τις.*] The Greeks were peculiarly a superstitious people and observant of every outward sign. Sneezing in a particular manner was enough to dissuade one from any business, or encourage him to undertake it. See Antiq. Part 5. Chap. 13.

28. *μὴ ἑρμῇ*, *simultaneously.*

71 30. *αιωνίς.*] This word is very general in its application, being used in reference to all kinds of omens.

31. *Θύειν σωτήρια.*] *Θύματα* is understood; — *to offer sacrifices for safety received*; literally, *to offer safety-sacrifices*.

72 1. *ἀπακινύτω τὴν χεῖρα.*] It was the custom of the Greeks, in all their public assemblies, to signify their wishes by holding up their hands. See *Antiq.* Part 3. Chap. 10.

15 *παρελαβὴν ἐπέλφ.*] Supply *έν.* The battle of Marathon is here alluded to, in which, according to Nepos, the Persians had a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Xenophon could not have made a happier allusion, to inspire the Greeks with confidence and courage.

19. *έξ αἰχῶν ἑκατάς.*] Herodotus says that six thousand four hundred Persians were killed in the battle.

23. *τούτων.*] That is, of the men with whom you have now to fight.

73 8. *οἱ Κυρῶν, the Persians on the side of Cyrus.*

21. *ἐπὶ τοῦ γῆς βιβημένους, treading firmly on the ground.*

23. *Ἐν μίᾳ, in one respect only.*

30. *περὶ τὰς ἰαντῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, at the peril of life and limb*; meaning, probably, that they would be put to death by mutilation and torture, to which severe death all traitors were subject.

33. *μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντες, not any longer having this*; that is, *τοῦτο ἀγγύριον.*

33. *αὐτοῖς, that we ourselves.*

74 3. *καὶ μεγάλως ἠγισθεὶ ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, and you think that you have been greatly deceived in crossing the river.* That is, — “that the Persians, in inducing you to cross, have greatly deceived you.”

8. *ποταμοὺς ἔσται.*] *χεῖμα* understood. The same ellipsis is found in Latin; *triste lupus stabulis.*

7. *Εἰ δὲ μή' αἱ ποταμοὶ διαίρουσιν.*] Some of the Latin commentators have rendered this passage, — *but if the rivers would not permit us to pass.* But the verb *διαίρω* means *to differ*, and from the preceding sentences it would seem to mean so here. Xenophon therefore says, “For although all rivers, at a great distance from their sources, may be impassable, yet, if we follow them up we shall be able to cross without going up to our knees. *But even if there were no difference*

between the width of rivers at their sources and their outlets, and therefore we be unable to pass, still there would be no cause for dejection, for we can settle here." He then states the inducements or settling in the king's territories. The reader will perceive the consummate art with which this speech is wrought up.

16. αὐτοῦ σου, *somewhere in this region.*

18. τοῦ . . . ἐπιμψυ, *of sending*, that is, 'that he would willingly give many hostages as a security that he would, without fraud, conduct them out of the country.'

21. Ἀλλὰ.] The force of this is — *but I DO NOT THINK IT EXPEDIENT TO DO SO, for fear, &c.*

24. μή.] It will be observed that this negative particle is here repeated.

24. λωτοφάγῳ.] Homer (Odys. i, 83.) says, that those who eat of the *lotus*, never think of returning home. The fruit is said to be very delicious.

28. ἔξω.] See note, page 55, line 19.

1. μὴ . . . στρατηγῇ, *may not affect our march.*

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3. Ἀὔται γὰρ αὖ, *for these equally.*

5. τὰ περιττά, *the things which are not necessary.*

8. Κρατούμενον . . . ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια, *for you know indeed that every thing belonging to the conquered passes into the hands of others.*

24. Ἀλλὰ.] See note, page 74, line 21.

27. ταῦτη.] Ἰδῆ understood.

27. ἰδιώτης, *a private soldier.*

8. πλαίσιον.] This was an oblong figure, approaching a square. 76
See note on page 26, line 28.

15. Λακεδαιμόνιος.] Cliriosophus takes the highest post of honor, as the Lacedemonians, at that time, were possessed of the sovereignty of Greece.

CHAPTER III.

20. ἐπίσκοπον, *sent as a spy.* Some copies read ἐπικου, *mis- 77*
spelled.

- 77 21. *πίστιος ἵστα.*] That is, he was with Mithridates, in order to serve the cause of Tissaphernes, and report to him whatever might be said.

22. *πίλινον ἀέχοντων*, war *unpreceded by a declaration*, or "in which no intercourse of criers or heralds is permitted between the parties." It was always customary, before going to war, to announce hostile intentions by means of heralds, *κέρυεις*. The Greeks seem therefore determined to dispense with this ceremony, having such a perfidious enemy to deal with, with whom no treaties could be made.

27. *λεβάντης ἐν Ζάβατον.*] Major Rennell remarks, that "it appears extraordinary that Xenophon should be silent respecting the mode of passing the *Zabatus*. It was performed under the eye of the enemy, who did not attempt to molest the Greeks, although in full day-light: for no kind of obstruction or difficulty is mentioned."

- 78 8. *πεντακίλιστον*, had retired under cover of the heavy-armed soldiers.

13. *ἐν πολλοῦ.*] That is, *ἐν πολλοῦ διαστήματος*.

25. *καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροῖν*, and that the action itself was witness for them.

- 79 5. *ἐν τόξου βύματος*, by bow-shot.

5. *Ἡμῖς.*] Some editions read *ἡμῖν*, to be governed by *δῖο*. But the reading of our text presents no difficulties: construe, *εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖς μάλλομεν*.

11. *χειρὸς πηλὴς τοῖς λίθοις*, stones as large as the fist.

13. *πίπνυνται.*] From *πάω* or *πάσμαι*, to possess.

14. *τούτων.*] That is, *σφινδοῶν*, for these slings; *ἀντὶ* being understood.

14. *τῇ μὲν αὐτῶν*, to one part of them.

16. *σφινδοῶν ἀντιπαμῖν ἱθίλοντι*, to him who is willing to be enrolled as a slinger.

23. *Ἐδεξί ταῦτα.*] "The first deficiency felt was that of cavalry and slingers, to repel those of the enemy, who taught them this want, during the first very short march, which indeed presented a very unpromising aspect. But the Greeks surmounted every difficulty: they halted during the whole of the succeeding day, and employed it in equipping and mounting fifty horsemen, on the best of the horses

that were found among the baggage, and also in forming a 79 body of two hundred slingers, out of the Rhodians, and others in the army."

CHAPTER IV.

4. Διαβιβησίσιν.] An example of a-definite tense, indicating the 80 precise point of time, *at the very moment they had crossed over.*

15. πατιλίφει.] Supply "Ελλήνας.

16. Ισήμενι.] That is, *ἡ σαρπηγυγῆς Ισήμενι.* F. Rule III, Obs. 1.

17. οἱ δι.] Referring to the Persians.

22. ἤκισαντα.] It will be perceived that the Greeks mangled the bodies of the dead only.

2. ἤλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκαλύψας ἤρπνεσι.] Although this reading 81 is found in many of the manuscripts, it is hardly possible to translate it and make sense. Stephanus, Hutchinson, Weiske and Dindorf read ἤλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκαλύψασα, ἤρπνεσι, *a cloud having passed before the sun, obscured it*, which is intelligible. But then another difficulty presents itself. Did Xenophon relate this as a matter of fact, or as a fabulous tradition of the inhabitants of the city? Undoubtedly the latter; for long before this time the Greeks knew enough of astronomy to know the cause of an eclipse, that it was produced by the intervention of the moon between the sun and the earth. Again: why should the inhabitants have been struck with such consternation, as to lose all their energy and suffer their city to be taken, at the mere passing of a cloud over the disk of the sun, since this is almost an every-day occurrence? From considerations like these it has been conjectured that the true reading of this passage is, ἤλιος δὲ διαλθὼν προκαλύψασα, ἤρπνεσι.

4. ἰάλω.] Second aor., in a passive sense, of ἀλίσσω. The regular second aor. is ἤλων, but the Attic ἰάλων is more generally used.

9. πύχος, *a castle or fortification.*

11. λίθω . . . πεγχυλίαντες, *marble figured by petrified shells.*

18. Ιαβρονιάνων.] There seem to be many fabulous traditions connected with the cities in this region. At one place an eclipse of

- 81 the sun, at another, thunder and lightning, drive the superstitious inhabitants from their homes.

22. οὐ.] To supply the ellipsis, and preserve the English order, ἴχων τούτους ἰστίαις, ἴχων οὗς τι αὐτοῖς ἔλθιν.

32. οὐδὲ γάρ, κ. τ. λ.] That is, the enemy were so thick, that every arrow took effect.

- 82 12. μῦον ἴχοντι, *having been worsted*.

17. πλαίσιον ἰσώπλευρον, a *square*. From this it appears that the πλαίσιον was a generic term. When used without any qualifying adjective it would seem to mean an *oblong*, or *rectangle*.

28. ἐκτίθεντο.] That is, ἐκ πλαίσιον ἐκτίθεντο, the *square was exposed to attack*.

29. ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν.] Ἀνὰ signifies equal division or distribution: ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν, *into a hundred men each*.

33. οἷσι μὴ ἰσχυρὸν τοῖς κέρασι, so that no confusion might take place in the wings, or so as not to be in the way of the flanks.

33. εἰς τὴν δὲ παρεῖχον ἔβησαν εὖνι κέρατων, then again they marched, but altogether detached from the wings.

- 83 1. τὸ μῖον ἀνέξιμπλεστον παρ' ἀνομοσίας, they filled up the vacancy, left by the expansion of the wings, that is, in six bodies of 100 men each when the vacancy was small; in twelve bodies of 50 each when larger; and when very large, in twenty-four bodies of 25 each. The text of this whole passage relative to the change in the military disposition of the Greeks, is pronounced by nearly all the commentators to be corrupt, and military men acknowledge that they do not understand it. But that the new disposition was such as to remedy the circumstances of the old, is evident from the whole context. The square presented too extended a front, and therefore they changed it for an oblong. But the evil which Xenophon lays most stress on, was the difficulty of filling up promptly the openings of the rear, made by the separation of the wings, on occasion of forming the square anew, after coming out of a *defile*. If the six hundred men formed the rear face of the oblong, one cannot well comprehend how the companies under the new disposition could extricate themselves from a *defile*, with more celerity than the troops which composed the rear face of the square under the old one. But the number (600) was too small to form a rear face, and it may

therefore be presumed that there is an error in the *number* of the new 83 companies, and that, instead of *six*, there were enough to form a *rear face* of sufficient depth to the *oblong*.

17. ὑπὸ μαστίγων, *under the lash*. It was usual for the Persian generals to flagellate their soldiers to make them do their duty in battle.

24. πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα.] That is, when these archers and slingers returned, down the hill, to the *main body*, they were again assaulted with stones and arrows.

3. Ἐνταῦθα.] "In the villages on the mountains they stayed 84 three days, both on account of the wounded, and because they found great plenty of provisions laid up for the *satrap* of the country. This position must have been situated immediately over the present town of Zaco."

28. ἐκέρυξι.] That is, ἡ κέρυξ ἐκέρυξι.

3. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ.] It was late on the fourth day's march from the 85 Zaco hills (making the 14th from the Zabatus) when the Greeks found a large body of the enemy in possession of certain heights, which commanded the road, in their front, they having passed the Greeks in the night. Tissaphernes, at the same time, appeared in sight with the main body, threatening their rear. Much general gallantry and exertion were employed in dispossessing the enemy, by a detachment led by Xenophon in person. They finally passed the eminence, which appears to have been another projection from the greater mountains, and descended into the plains beyond it. This plain was situated immediately below the place where the steep and lofty mountains of the Carduchians terminate on the banks of the Tigris, effectually barring the passage upwards, and thus preventing their tracing it till it became fordable. Here then they were totally at a stand; the river was found too deep to be forded, and the enemy appeared in front on the opposite bank, without doubt fully prepared for this exigency which they had foreseen.

23. αἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, *those who beset our way*.

28. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνέμας, *from the front*.

28. μακρὰν.] This is for πρὸ μακρὰν ὁδόν.

CHAPTER VI.

- 87 9. Καὶ ἐλὼν βοηθίας, then Chirisophus with his men comes back from relieving their companions. The situation of things is this: Chirisophus with his men came down first from the hill and encamped in the plain; while there, Tissaphernes suddenly appears, and cuts off some of the Greeks who were out on a foraging expedition. Chirisophus then marches to the relief of the foragers, and when he sees the Persians setting fire to the villages he returns again to his own camp on the plain.

21. ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκῇς ἀπῆλθεν.] As it has been said before, that the Greeks burned their tents, this sentence must mean, *when they returned into the houses of the villages, or into their quarters, as they were now quartered at these villages.*

26. ὡς ἡ Τίγρις, the river Tigris.

27. πρὸς τετραμυχίους, by four thousands, or four thousand at a time.

33. Τούτους.] That is, τούτους διαμαῖς.

- 88 9. ὥστε πολλοὶ ἰσχυροί.] From this it appears that part of the enemy's cavalry were on the other side of the Tigris.

11. εἰς τοῦτομαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, by a way different from that which leads into Babylon.

18. τὰ μέρη.] Supply μέρος· and with αὐτῇ, τοῦ is to be supplied; *the parts of the rout.*

24. Καρδοίχους.] "On an examination of the prisoners, the Greek generals found that it was practicable to pass over the mountains into the territory of the Carduchians. This nation, favored by the natural strength of the country, had preserved their independence in despite of the power of the great King. They are the ancestors of the modern Kourds, who have extended themselves along the ridges and valleys of *mount Tuurus*, from Asia Minor to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, and who occupy the country named, from themselves, KOURDISTAN." Rennell.

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

15. καὶ ἵσταν αὖ τὸ στενόν, *where it is narrow.* The question is, 90 what does στενόν agree with? Probably with μέγας understood, meaning that there is a point where the distance between the two rivers is quite small.

16. ὅδε ποιῶνται.] The sense is, *that they wish so to conduct their incursion into the country of the Carduchians, as to conceal their movements from the enemy, and still to get possession of the mountains first.*

17. καταλαβὴν τὰ ἄκρα.] The Carduchian mountains presented, in effect, an asylum to the Greeks, who could in no other way have escaped, at last, the reiterated attacks of such an host of enemies, whose numbers also were augmenting instead of diminishing. But as a Persian army could not subsist, or their cavalry act, within the wide range of these mountains, the Greeks, by ascending them, got rid of their dreadful enemy. And although, in the mean time, they had to contend with an enemy much more brave and persevering, their numbers were fewer, and they might reasonably expect an earlier escape from them than from the Persians. Had they known that the Tigris was fordable under the Zaco hills, and had passed into Mesopotamia, they would still have been followed by the Persians: they would also have had the Euphrates, (a river yet more difficult to cross) in the line which they must have pursued. It therefore appears, according to our limited view of things, that nothing less than such a barrier as these mountains presented, could have saved the Greeks from eventual destruction from the attacks of the Persians.

90 18. φυλακάν.] "The Greeks decamped whilst enough of the night remained for them to traverse the plain, and to arrive at the foot of the mountains unobserved; for on this concealment their existence probably depended. They had the good fortune to arrive not only at the mountain foot unobserved, but even to escape the enemy's observation altogether, whilst it was in their power to annoy them in ascending it. From this it may be concluded, that the plain was of no great breadth in that part." Rennell.

91 4. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπίσταντο, *for there was no danger that any enemy would attack them in the rear, as they were going up the mountain.*

7. ἔπειτα δὲ ὑφ' ἡγεγῶτο, *he then led his men on before.*

8. ἐπίσταντο στρατιώματος, *and the different parts of the army, as they successively gained the summit of the mountain, followed after.*

8. τὸ ὑπερβέλλον.] For τὸ τοῦ στρατιώματος μέρος δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ὑπερβιβλίσκει.

92 6. Δίξαν.] This is the first aor. participle neuter, put absolutely for ἵτι ἰδοὺς αὐτοῖς, *it having seemed best to do these things.* Ταῦτα is governed by ταῦν understood. See F. Rule XXXIII, end of Obs. 3.

10. τῶν ἐντεριῶν, *the charms*; governed by ἐνδομήσεις.

22. ἵτι πρὸ γὰρ τι εἶη, *that there was some danger threatening.*

28. ὥσπερ ἦχον, *just as he was.*

31. Καὶ οὖν.] Here is a transition from what is technically called the *oratio obliqua*, to the *oratio recta*. The *oratio obliqua* is when what has been said or thought by another is quoted by the writer not as his own idea, and yet not in the words of the speaker; but in the manner of narration. The *oratio recta* is when the direct words of the speaker are quoted.

93 3. Ταῦτα.] Supply διὰ. Διὰ ταῦτα, *for these reasons.*

7. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς παρῆλθεν, *for when they (the enemy) were approaching us.*

CHAPTER II.

6. *αὐτοί.*] *Λίγουν* understood, to which *αὐτοί* is the nominative: 94
— and THEY SAID they would march to their assistance.

14. *ἀμαξιαίους λίθους*, literally, wagon-stones, stones which are conveyed by wagons, meaning enormously large stones.

25. *τοὺς μὲν τοὺς δέ*, some, others.

26. *ὡς κατίχοντες τὴν ἄκρον*, supposing that they were masters of the summit.

18. *Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὕτως ἐπαρύνθησαν*, *ἥτις ἐὶ ἄλλαι*, the soldiers indeed 95
could have ascended the same way which the others had taken.

21. *ἑβίαις.*] In the Grecian *φάλαγξ* the front was longer than the sides, or there were more men in rank than in file. But the shape of the *ἑβία φάλαγξ* was exactly the reverse, having a narrow front. So the Greeks here ascend the hill *ἑβίαις τοῖς λίχαις*, in deep columns.

25. *Καὶ τοῦτον κατιχώμενον*, the Greeks had scarcely passed this hill, when they beheld another possessed by an enemy.

30. *ἐν πολύ.*] *διόστημα* understood; they were extended over a long space, that is, there was a long train of them.

3. *ὁ ὕπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῇ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς*, which overlooked 96
the guard which were taken at the fire.

8. *οἱ δέ.*] The sense is, the Barbarians observing from the top of the hill, all the transactions in the rear of the Greek army, went in a body to attack it.

14. *Σιεθαι τὰ ὅπλα*, *consistere in armis et instructos*. Schneider.

19. *τῇ μαστῇ.*] This is the same summit as that mentioned in the sixth line of this page, which the Barbarians had left, and which Xenophon now possessed.

21. *ἐφ' ᾧ*, on condition that.

23. *ἄλλο στεύσιμμα.*] That is, the rear of the army which protected the baggage.

25. *ἤρξαντο.*] The Greeks with Xenophon.

3. *ἦν ἐν λάσπεσι*. Bornemann reads *ἔστι ἐν λάσπεσι*. The wine 97
was so abundant that they were obliged to keep it in plastered cisterns.

10. *τοὺς πρώτους*, the van of the army.

21. *τριπύχην.*] See Antiq. Appendix.

- 97 22. πρὸς τὸ κάτω.] That is, πρὸς τὸ μέρος κάτω. This passage is not very clear, and if there were but simply a bow used, we are at a loss to discover its meaning; for how could the arrow be discharged by putting the left foot against the bow, and then drawing the string? The attitude, in the first place, would be extremely difficult, and, in the next place, the arrow could not be aimed high enough to take any effect. Besides, what is meant by τὸ μέρος κάτω, *the lower part of the bow*? But if we suppose that the bow was inserted in a piece of wood, so as to form what is called "a cross-bow," the whole difficulty is solved. Then the τὸ μέρος κάτω is the part where the bow is inserted in the "gun" or "cross-piece." The archer places his left foot against this part, and draws the νευρὰς with his greatest strength towards the handle of the gun, where it is fastened. Then, placing the arrow in the groove made in this cross-piece, he discharges it by remitting the fastening of the string.

CHAPTER III.

- 98 19. γίγναι.] See Antiq. Part. 8. Chap. 9.
26. εἰ δὲ μή.] This is an elegantly elliptical phrase, where the ellipsis refers to the sense of the whole remark. It cannot be rendered, *but if not*, that is, "if he did not carry his arms in the water the current swept him down;" for the sense is exactly the reverse. Therefore it may be translated, "*but if on the contrary*," that is, *εἰ ἔχου ὄπλα ἐν τῇ ὕδατι*, "but if, on the contrary, he should carry his arms in the water." So (Matthew ix. 17,) Οὐδὲ βάλλουσιν οἶνον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μήτις ρήγνυνται οἱ ἀσκοί, "Neither do men put new wine into old bottles, *else* the bottles burst." That is, *εἰ δὲ μήτις*, "*if, on the contrary*," they do put new wine into old bottles;" or, *but if not*, that is, "if they do not observe this rule, but put new wine into old bottles," &c. The phrase *εἰ δὲ μή* may generally be rendered "otherwise."
- 99 27. νουθεύμεναι.] Participle mid. of νίω, *to swim*.
- 100 13. ἀντιπαρῆεναι, *marched, side by side, on the opposite bank*; a very expressive word compounded of ἀντί, *against*, παρὰ, *and* ἵμι, *to go*: pluperf. mid.

15. ἴσταντο τὰ ἔσλα, *they stood at their arms.*

100

16. σφιγανωτάμεις.] The Lacedæmonian soldiers, when the enemy were in sight, and they were about to engage in battle, used to sacrifice a goat to Diana, and deck their heads with garlands.

17. παρήγγιλλι.] That is, παρήγγιλλας σφιγανωτάμεις καὶ ἀποδύσθαι.

18. ἱερίους.] See note, page 95, line 21.

4. μὴ ἀπολείπεισθαι, *that they would not be left behind.*

101

6. προσηυόσθαι ἔχθρας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, *the banks extending along the side of the river.*

7. τοὺς ἄνω πολέμους.] The infantry of the enemy that were stationed upon an eminence; mentioned on page 98, line 14.

17. ἀμὴν διίβαντι, *were in the very act of passing.*

19. κατ' ἑωμοτίας, *into companies of twenty-five men.*

20. παρ' ἄσπιδας, *to the left*, as the shield was borne on the left arm: παρ' ἄσπιδας παρεκγίγντας τὴν ἑωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, *to extend each company of twenty-five to the left in the form of the phalanx.* This was done in order to present a long line to the enemy.

25. ἔχλον.] The ἔχλος of an army comprises all those who do not bear arms, such as the cooks, sutlers, boys, women, &c.

5. ἐπὶ δέξυ, *to the right*, as their spears were carried in their right hands. Ἐκ' ἄσπιδος and ἐπὶ δέξυ were the common words of command.

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23. Οἱ δὲ ἀποστέλλαντες.] The soldiers sent by Chirisophus, p. 101, line 27.

CHAPTER IV.

12. ἀνίσταλλιν.] The Greeks and Romans had no stirrups; but those of wealth and rank were lifted upon their horses by a person called ἀναβολαίης. In the middle ages, the Pope used to make the generalissimo of the army perform this menial duty.

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2. διαθρεάζιν, *to clear up.* Theme αἶθρῃ, *the air*; hence αἰθρεῖ-ζιν, *to expose to the open air, to be in a pure air, also to become*

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- 104 *clear.* Xenophon nine lines before had given two reasons why the soldiers should quarter themselves in the villages, namely, *because no enemy appeared* (ὅ γὰρ ἴωρον), and *on account of the quantity of snow* (διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χιόνος). Now also he assigns two motives for their encamping together in a body, namely, the appearance of the *fires of the enemy* (πολλὰ πυρά), and the *prospect of clear weather* (ἰδίῳ διαθιγῆναι). Some commentators have thought that the verb διαθιγῆναι here means "to encamp in the open air."

5. συνισθῆναι, *made stiff, benumbed.*

7. ἀλιριν, *worm as a shelter*, π. ἄγμα being understood.

- 105 15. τῇ σάλευγγι.] The soldiers were probably scattered upon the hills, and in the enemy's camp in search of booty.

CHAPTER V.

27. Ὁ ἢ ἐρίτης.] Στραθός is understood.

- 106 15. ἰβουλιμίμενοι, *were affected with insatiable hunger.* The disease of βουλιμία is thus described by Galen. "It is a disorder in which the patient is continually craving for victuals, loses the use of his limbs, falls down, and turns pale. His extremities become cold, his stomach oppressed, and his pulse scarcely sensible."

26. Περσιτί, *in the Persian language.*

29. κομάρχην, *the governor of the village, or mayor, to use a modern term.*

- 107 9. Ὅσοι ἢ ὑποδιδμήναι ἐκουῶντο, *whoever slept with their shoes on.*
12. κατέκτανται.] See Antiq. Part. 10. Chap. 15.
25. διαφιρέμενοι, *quarrelling.*

- 108 6. ὅλον σφετέρημα.] That is, the whole of the army except that part which was with Chrisophus, in the village.

20. ἐκίλισεν, *requested.*

26. ἐν ταῖς κώμαις.] That is, in those villages where the Greeks were quartered.

32. οἶνος κριθίνος, *literally, barley wine.* Diodorus Siculus (xiv. 28.) says that Osiris, the Egyptian Bacchus, was the inventor of malt liquor, as a relief to those countries where the vine did not succeed.

83. αἱ κρηταὶ ἰσοχυαῖς.] The meaning of this probably is, that the Greeks, having come into the villages, found the goblets of porter full to the brim, in which some grains of the barley were still floating.

4. συμμάθιν, to him who became accustomed to it.

10. αἶνον.] Xenophon here seems to be speaking of wine from the grape.

11. παταρυγμίνας.] Attic for παταρυγμίνας.

19. οὐκ ἦν δ' ἵκεν οὐ, and there was no place where there was not.

22. φιλοφρονούμενος, from kindness, or out of politeness : ἐπερωτῶ σοι, to drink to any one's health.

29. ξηρῷ χιλῶν.] Owing to the season of the year they could not procure green plants, of which garlands were generally made. See F. Rule XXXVII.

31. αἶτις ἰνῶς, as if they were deaf, in consequence of their ignorance of the Greek language.

11. Συμψιδιστικαί, more mettlesome, spirited.

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CHAPTER VI.

23. ἦν.] Used impersonally, it was now.

10. κατὰ σέας, longo agmine. In this disposition of the troops a very narrow front was presented to the enemy.

11. φάλαγγες.] The meaning is, to bring up the columns in the rear, to the front, in the form of the phalanx, so that a broad front might be presented.

29. ἐξέμεινεν πλὴν, ἢ ἑξ ἑξήκοντα στάδια, extends to the eye more than sixty stadia.

5. ἡ τραχυῖα.] That is, ἡ τραχυῖα ἰδίς.

10. χερῶν, that we shall have the advantage of finding. The verb χερῶμαι must be rendered variously, according to the sense of the passage in which it is found. It means here to light upon, to find; but then there is an idea of profit or advantage in it, which cannot be expressed in English without circumlocution.

13. ἰμείων.] The citizens of Sparta were divided into two great classes, the Ὀρῶν, who had the privilege of voting, and could be

112

- 112 elected to any office; and the *Τρομίονοι*, who could only vote at elections. *Ὅμοιοι*, may be translated *the Peers*, persons of elevated and equal rank. See Antiq. Part. 4. Chap. 2.

18. *ἰδιδίξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν*, to give us a specimen of your education.

22. *τὰ δημόσια.*] Supply *χρήματα*. Aristophanes, in his Comedies, is continually ridiculing the cupidity and fraud of the Athenian magistrates. Chirisophus seems to give Xenophon as good as he sends; the latter however does not return the retort, but gravely proceeds to business.

29. *αλώμεν.*] There were many of the Barbarians who followed the Grecian army, at a distance, for the purpose of stealing what they could find.

- 113 20. *Πρὶν δὲ ἰμεῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλους.*] Schneider places a comma after *πολλοὺς*, and none after *ἀλλήλους*. This is better. The sense is, *before the main body of each army had engaged with each other, the two parties on the heights had joined battle.*

CHAPTER VII.

- 114 17. *τῆς ἐντεριχόμενης πίστεως*, the overhanging rock.

17. *οὕτω διατίθεται*, is thus dealt with, pointing at them at the same time.

26. *ἀπ' ὧ, against which or behind which.*

- 115 1. "*Αἰεὶ δὲ,*" *ἴση*, "*τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν εἶναι,*" this is the very thing, said he, that would benefit us.

10. *ὑπὲρ τὰ δένδρα*, under cover of the trees.

15. *μηχανώμενοι τι*, devised something of this sort.

31. *ἑαυτοὺς ἐκικατεβίβησαν*, threw themselves down upon them.

- 116 8. *εἰς χεῖρας ἤσαν*, they came to close quarters, or fought hand in hand.

9. *πτερόεν.*] The lower parts of the *loricae*, or coats of mail of the Greeks, were called *πτερώεις*, which extended a little over the thighs. Instead of these wings, the Chalybians seem to have had thick cords twisted. Antiq. Part. 8. Chap. 3.

32. *αἶψα καὶ φθείρειν*, to burn and lay waste.

- 117 15. *Θάλατταν.*] On the shores of the Euxine sea, which the

Greeks now beheld, were many cities inhabited by their countrymen. 117
Hence, and from the thoughts of the superior facilities it would afford them for returning to their own country, their extreme exultation in beholding it.

20. *Ἰσθι δὲ παρεγγυήσαντος, some one suggesting it.*

27. *τοὺς δακτυλίου, the rings which he saw on their fingers.*

CHAPTER VIII.

5. *εἰς δὲ ἐνὶ βάλαντι δ ἔρριζον, into which that river, which bounded 118*
the two nations, emptied.

12. *οὕτως, thus, that is, by casting stones into the river, and standing upon them, so as to get nearer to the Greeks.*

21. *ἀντιτιτάχεται.*] The Ionians and Dorians form the third person plur. of the perf. passive from the third person singular, by inserting *a* before *ται*, in which case the original aspirated consonant enters before the *a*. For example: *θάπτω, τίθαμμαι, τίθαπται, τιθάπεται, τιθαφαται* — so from *ἀντιτάττω, ἀντιτίταγμαί, ἀντιτίτακται, ἀντιτιτάκαται, ἀντιτιτάχεται*. The Attic writers sometimes use this form. See Matthiæ, Art. 198.

15. *ἐπὶ πολλοῖς.*] "*ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τεταγμένοι, — mea sententia 119*
phalanx dicitur altior quam latior, ut ἐπ' ὀλίγων τε. latior quam altior." Bornemann.

20. *εἰ δὲ πῃ, but if in some part.*

11. *εὐχέσθαι, to make their vows; that is, to promise sacrifices to 120*
the gods in case they were victorious.

27. *ἤμουν.*] From *ἡμῖν*.

28. *πάνω διχάρεμι αὐτοῖς, alio dejectio accedebat ipsis.*

29. *ἰδδοκίταις.*] Perf. participle Attic of *ἰδο*.

32. *ἀποθήκευσεν.*] Observe that this is the dat. of the participle, governed by *ἑκτισεν*.

12. *ξίνα.*] The various presents which it was customary for 121
hosts and guests to give to each other as a proof of the sincerity of their friendship, were called by the general name of *ξίνα*.

16. *ἀγῶνα.*] For an account of the Grecian games, see Antiq. Part. 6. Chap. 6.

- 121 19. δρέμον ἐπιμηθέναι, *to take charge of the race-course.*
 28. αἰχμαλώτων.] It would seem very repugnant to the habits and feelings of the Greeks, that their captives, who were slaves, should mingle with their masters in the exercises of the games. Besides, how could they so soon learn the various exercises, which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made a distinct part of education? Weiske and Schneider conjecture that the true reading is, Δασι-
 δαιμονίων.
 28. δόλιχον.] The measure of the δόλιχος does not appear to have been fixed. Generally it was about seven stadia, or the simple course, called στάδιον, or στάδιον, was run over seven times and back.
 32. κατὰ τοῦ πρηνῶς ἰλάσσοντες, *having run down a declivity.*
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BOOK FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

12. ἐκταθείς.] From ἐκτείνω, to stretch out, sail away. 123
10. ἐν ὀρεομαῖς, with regular foraging parties : διὺν ἡμᾶς under- 124
stood before λαμβάνειν.
16. εἰδῶμεν, that we may know.
18. ἀπειροτέρων, of those of less experience.
33. καταγάγοιμεν, that we may bring into port.
33. σπηδαῖα.] See Antiq. Part. 9. Chap. 3. This was done
to prevent either the owners or the soldiers from sailing away with the
ships clandestinely.
5. ναῦλον συντίσθαι, to make an agreement with them for the 125
freight.
13. ἐπεψήφισεν μὲν οὐδὲν, did not put the question to vote.

CHAPTER II.

5. ὅτι ἐκπεπρωμένοι ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, because having been driven 126
from their houses.
24. καὶ γὰρ.] The sense requires that this clause, as far as πτωχεύ-
μιναι, should be considered as in a parenthesis. So also the next
clause from ἦν γὰρ to χαράξαν.
27. οἱ δέ.] That is, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι.
30. Ὁ δ' ἰδών, the messenger ; ὁ ἀγγεῖλος being understood.
8. ὡς ἂν λήντοι ἐν τοῦ χειρὶν, as if he would take the city. 127

127 10. *συνιχόμενοι*, gave his consent.

20. *δυναστεύουσιν*, ready to throw their javelins. Hesychius says, *Δυναστεύειν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τοῖς δακτύλοις τῇ ἀγκύλῃ τοῦ ἀκοντίου*, to insert the fingers into the thong of the javelin.

24. *τούτων ἐπιμαλθεῖναι*, to take care that all these things were done.

25. *οἱ ἄξιοντες τούτων μὴ χείρους εἶναι*, who thought themselves not inferior in merit to these; where *τούτων* refers to *λοχαγαὶ* and *στρατοχαραγὰί*.

27. *μπασιδῆς*, crescent-shaped, so that each wing faced the other.

27. *διὰ τὸ χωρίον*, (εἶναι τοιούτων understood,) on account of the ground, or the nature of the ground being such, that is, circular and sloping inwards.

128 14. *ἐκίλισιν*.] That is, *ὁ Μισοφῶν ἐκίλισιν*.

16. *ἐκρίπτουσιν*.] Supply *τοὺς πολέμιους*· *οἱ εἶσω ἀπολείμιναι* refers to the Greeks.

26. *τοὺς ἀχρεῖους*.] Some copies read *ἐφ' ἀρπαγὰς*, for plunder, which must be incorrect. For at this time, while they were in the midst of a strong city of a warlike people, with the soldiers of the enemy pressing them on all sides, the Greeks appear, from the context, to be thinking how they could best retreat. And, if they wished to send out companies for booty, they would not send the *ἀχρεῖους* and *στρίβους*. The sense is, that, desirous of retreating, they sent all the useless part of the army and most of the heavy-armed, through the gates, that the slingers and archers might remain to cover the retreat.

27. *τῶν ἐλατῶν ἐν πλεῖστος*, the greater part of the heavy-armed.

129 5. *ἐνταῦθα*.] These words are connected in Jacobs' edition; but they are oftener written separate: — *ἔστω δὲ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*, some one indeed having set fire to it.

10. *παρὰ τὸ στήμα*. Amaseus renders this, "in *ipsis viz faucibus*," in front; Weiske, "e regione," on the opposite side. But may not *στήμα* refer to the gates of the city, as the houses near those would be most likely to incommode the Greeks.

26. *ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ*, here and there.

CHAPTER III.

20. τὰν δεικνύν.] Frequent mention is made in history of tithes 130
dedicated to the heathen gods.

25. θησαυρόν.] It was the custom of most of the ancient nations
to deposit their treasures in the temples of the gods.

4. ἱφρυγίη.] According to Laërtius, Xenophon was banished ἐκ 131
λακωνισμῷ, on a charge of being a partisan of the Lacedæmonians.

5. Συλλάωντι.] Here Xenophon is said to have written his histo-
rical works.

8. ἔπει ἀνίλιν ὁ Διός, where the god had directed by the oracle.

18 τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν.] Those who, on the festive day, assembled at
the feast, dwelt under tents.

30. ἰστί.] There seems to be something understood here, such as
the participle φουσίοντα, producing: ὅσα ἰστί τρυπητὰ ἄκρα, such as
produce fruits which, in their season, may be eaten raw.

31. μισγάμ.] The temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was four hun-
dred and twenty-five feet long, two hundred and twenty broad, and
had one hundred and twenty-seven columns.

32. ὡς κυπαρίσσειον χρυσεῖ ὄντι, as far as a statue of cypress can re-
semble one of gold. Hutchinson thinks that the statue of Diana, at
Ephesus, was not of solid gold, but merely gilded.

2. ΤΟΝ.] Some verb is understood, as δι᾽ or χεῖ. But this el- 132
liptical form of the accusative before the infinitive, was frequently used
for the imperative mode.

6. ΘΗΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ THE GODDESS WILL TAKE VEN-
GEANCE ON HIM. It will be observed that the ἰota, instead of being
subscript, is postscript in capitals.

CHAPTER IV.

20. διασφηνίαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, to go safely into Greece.

29. τί ἡμῶν διήκεισθι χεῖνασθαι, in what respect do you wish to
employ us.

3. ἐν τοῦ ἱπὶ θάλασσαν, on the other side of this. Supply μέγα, with 133
which θάλασσαν agrees.

- 133 12. ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν, *by hundreds*. When the preposition ἀπὸ is used with the accusative of a numeral adjective, it generally implies *distribution*.
 15. ἡμπερθεῖν, *towards the end*; ὀπισθεῖν, *at the handle*.
 18. κρόκυλον, *a crest-like tuft of hair*.
 23. ἐπιμαχόμενα, *very easy to be taken*.
- 134 11. ὅτι γιγίνεσθαι, *that the advantages may be as great as the disadvantages*.
 13. τῷ ὄντι, *in reality*.
 26. ὁπελυπεμμένους δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ στόματος, *being but a short distance from the front*.
 29. αἱ δ' ἄλλα.] *That is, αἱ ἰσότης*.
- 135 9. τὰ χυρίον.] *By this we are to understand ἡ μητρόπολις*.
 12. φολάττοντα.] *Some editors would prefer φολάττονται*. Pomponius Mela, in his Geography, remarks that the Mosynœci elect their kings by suffrage, and keep them in chains under a most vigilant guard, and punish them for their faults by withholding their daily food.
 15. συσπένον, *accumulated*; from σπένω.
 20. Κάρεα τὰ πλατρία, *ὅτι ἔχοντα διαφορὰν εὐδαιμίας*, literally, *flat nuts without any cleft*; a sort of chestnuts.
- 136 5. λοττηγμίους ἀσθίμους, *marked with painted flowers*. The word λοττηγμίους seems to imply that the colors were imprinted in the flesh.

CHAPTER V.

20. οὐδαμίας.] *Chalybia was famed for its mines, in the age of Homer*.
 23. ἐνδυναίει τι, *might reap some advantage*, that is, *might secure to themselves some booty*.
- 138 18. οὐχ ὕβρι, *not from wantonness*.
- 139 1. τὰ ἑαυτῶν δαπανῶντες, *paying their own expenses*.
 3. ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν ᾤ, *but that it may be in our power*.
 10. τὸν Παφλαγονίαν, *the Paphlagonian*, meaning the king of the province.

CHAPTER VI.

3. *προσδεῖν*, to need still more, to need in addition.

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5. *Ἑλλήνας συμβουλευόντων.*] *Ἑλλήσι* is governed by *ἔθους*, and *τούτων* refers to the clause *τῷ ἔθους τι εἶναι καὶ τὰ βέλτεστα συμβουλευόντων*. The sense is, that they would first openly show themselves to be Greeks by this, namely, by their being well disposed towards Greeks, and giving them the best possible advice. Stephens refers the dative *Ἑλλήσι* to *δυνας*, instead of *ἔθους* : either construction is admissible.

14. *ἰερὰ συμβουλῆ.*] In allusion to the proverb *ἰερὸν χρῆμα συμβουλῆ*.

15. *καὶ παρῖναι.*] The idea is, a favorable opportunity now presents itself to me to show the truth of the saying, that "counsel is holy."

33. *μυζὸν φρονεῖ*, was too high-minded, too haughty.

29. *ἄντους.*] Xenophon means to convey the idea, that if they 141 are together they will be superior to all opposing force, but if divided, they may fall before their enemy, and become slaves.

5. *οὐκ ἂν παρικοινάσθη.*] By some of the Latin commen- 142 tators this is rendered as past time; but Weiske, much better, would prefer the future potential, — *where so great a force could not again be collected*. It was, indeed, a design worthy of Xenophon, and the execution of it would have been worthy of the glory of the Grecian arms, that such a noble body of troops, preserved amid so many perils in a toilsome expedition against the Persian king, and such as could scarcely be collected together again, should settle at last on the fertile shores of the Euxine, to extend the name and the empire of Greece.

5. *προστατύνει*, to use his influence.

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8. *προσέχουσιν μοι*, to give your thoughts to a settlement here.

11. *ἀπὸ νομηνίας*, from the beginning of the month, or, literally, from the beginning of the moon, as the Greeks reckoned their months from the new moon. See Antiq. Part 7.

11. *Κυζικηνόν.*] See Antiq. Appendix.

17. *διὰ τὸ ἐκείθεν εἶναι*, from having originated there.

- 144 7. τὰ μὲν μίγιτον, *which is all-important.*
 11. Ἐξήνγαι γὰρ τὸν λόγον, *for he has spread a report.*
 23. ἀνταύσανται χεῖναι, *that they ought also to give over the thought, namely, of settling somewhere here.*
 145 7. τῆς μεταφορᾶς.] That is, τὰ χεῖματα τῆς μεταφορᾶς.

CHAPTER VII.

26. καὶ ἀέλοι ἐνίσταντο, *and they stood together in groups.*
 146 7. ἀγοράν.] This is used synonymously with ἐκκλησίαν.
 17. ἴσται δὲ δύναται, ἀνίσχυι δ' ἰσχύειν.] Schneider thinks that these words are spurious and ought to be expunged.
 23. Ἀλλὰ γάρ.] This, as has been remarked before, is an elliptical phrase. To supply the ellipsis, ἀλλὰ ἴσται ἴσται τις δὲ ἡμῶς ἔκπαυτῆσαι, γάρ, *but it is possible for any one to deceive you, that is, any one may deceive you in the outset; for I could embark you in a calm.*
 27. Πιῶν δ', *but grant it, but I put the case.*
 28. καὶ δὲ καί, *and besides also.*
 147 7. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, "*But I will say nothing more, for methinks I have said enough in reply to the calumnies.*"
 9. ἢ ἄλλον ἔκπαυτῆσαι ταῦτα, *or that another deceives him upon these subjects.*
 12. ὃ εἰ ἴσται, καὶ ἴσται οἷον ὑπεδείκνυσεν, *which thing, if it spread abroad, and become of such magnitude as it has shown itself capable of becoming.*
 148 4. οὔτε ἀνηγμένοι, *not having yet set sail from the port.* The verb is compounded of ἀνά, *up*, and ἄγω, *to raise*: and takes the signification from *raising up* or *weighing the anchor*. It may be rendered *not having weighed anchor*. Κατάγειν θάλασσαν, on the contrary, is, *to be brought into port*.
 9. σφίσι λίγισιν.] Schneider reads σφῶς λίγισιν, preferring however to exclude the words altogether. It seems to mean, *that they took upon themselves to say.*
 149 6. Καὶ τούτους εἰ δεικνύει:] Supply δύναται. *And what do you think that these feared?*

16. ἐν οὐδμιᾷ χάρις, *in no authority.*

25. διπράξαντο, *have effected this.*

31. 'Αλλ' ἡμιτε.] The sense is — "But there is no need to send ambassadors to the Cerasuntians, for we have desired," &c.

7. τὰ μίγματα.] This appears to allude principally to the murder of the heralds, which was the most grievous violation of the rights of nations, and of the ordinances of religion.

19. καθαρμός.] In what manner the purification was performed it cannot be decided, as there were many different ceremonies of purification. See Antiq. Part 5. Chap. 6.

CHAPTER VIII.

22. τῆς φυλακῆς.] The Phœnician vessels were called γαῦλα, and their cargoes γαυλικὰ χεῖματα. Τὸ μίσμα may be rendered, *a defalcation*. The sense of the passage then is this: *Philesius and Xanthicles were each fined twenty minæ, being the amount of their defalcations as guards over the effects taken from the vessels.*

26. ἐκέλευεν εἰπῶν τὸν πρῶτον, πρῶτον λίζεσθαι, *he ordered him who first made the accusation to say first.*

5. οἱ φασὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ὕβριος κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνισθαι, *who are said not to feel fatigue in consequence of their viciousness.*

7. ἐκ τίνος αἰτίου understood.

8. περὶ παιδικῶν, *about objects of affection.*

14. κάμνοντα, *a sick person.*

22. τοσούτον ἐγγίγνωσκον, *I knew him so far as this only.*

30. 'Οπίσα γι βούλεται.] The verb βούλεται probably agrees with ἀνὴρ understood, referring to the sick soldiers. While the bystanders exclaim that the soldier is alive, the one who is about to bury him replies, — "Well; it may be so, — just as he pleases, — but I won't carry him any farther."

32. εἰδότες ἐκείναι, *to act like one who knew, &c.*

7. ἴσθαι σώζεσθαι μὲν ἡραυ δι' ὑμᾶς, *who ought to be satisfied that they are preserved by your instrumentality.*

15. κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόγης, *I perceived that I could scarcely rise.*

152 19. ἰγγίοντα, *flexibility*.

20. ὡς αὖτις ἦν, *as being the cause*.

27. Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς πάλαισις ἰγγίοντα, οἱ μὲν αὖ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔραστον, τοῦ δίκην αὖ ἐξίον λαμβάνειν. *But if they had come into the power of the enemy, what so cruel treatment could they receive, for which they would deem it expedient to call the offender to justice?*

153 4. περιεὶς.] It was the office of the pilot's mate to sit at the prow of the ship, to keep a look out.

15. ἀνέχεσθαι, *he contended*.

18. χαλινούς, *fierce, mad*.

19. δίδασκε.] Ionic for δίδωμι, from δίδωμι, *to bind*.

29. καὶ ἀντιμνησκόμενοι, *and gave evidence that they were mindful of his kindnesses*.

29. καὶ περιγίγιντα, δισσι καλῶς ἔχουσιν.] Brodæus, Amaseus, Stephanus, Muretus, Morus, Weiske, D'Ablancourt, and Schneider, all render this passage differently, so that there is a wide field for selection. Brodæus says, "et huc ad ultimum res evasit, ut pulchrè se haberent omnia," and the event was such that all things went well. But the preposition περί, in composition, often signifies *superiority*. The verb, therefore, instead of being used impersonally, may have ἔισσιν for its nominative. The sense then may be, — and Xenophon was superior to his accusers, so as to be in favor with all.

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

14. *σκιᾶν.*] The *σκιᾶς* were couches made of brush-wood, 154
and covered with leaves and straw.

3. *Στάλκαν.*] This martial song commemorated the warlike vir- 155
tues of Sitalces, king of Thrace, in honor of whom it was composed.

6. *καρναίων.*] This was a Thessalian pantomime dance, a de-
scription of which is here given.

8. *πυπὰ μεταστροφίμους,* often looking round at the same
time.

26. *διὰ ἰσχυῶντα,* deemed it wonderful.

1. *αὐτοῖς.*] This refers to the *πρίστεις* sent by the Paphlago- 156
nians.

10. *μίδιμους.*] See Antiq. Appendix.

19. *ἰσχυ αὐτοῖς.*] Supply *ἵναι*, the thought occurred to them.

24. *ἥσσον δὲ ἰσχυρίζω,* that there would be less delay.

26. *ἐν τῇ πλείοντι γνώμῃ.*] That is, *ἐν τῇ πλείοντι γνώμῃ*, from the
prevailing opinion, according to the majority.

30. *ἐν μίᾳ, partly, in one respect.* This is generally followed by
ἐν τῇ 2ῃ, but this is implied in *ἐπὶ τῇ 2ῃ*, in the second line of the
next page.

32. *πρὸς τοὺς φίλους,* to his friends, in Greece and Athens, and
also to Athens as a city.

6. *παρσενεσμένους δύο ἱεῖς,* having led two victims to the altar. 157

8. *ἐν Δελφῶν.*] There seems to be something understood here,
such as *ἐν Διῶν*. It will be perceived, by reference to page 64,
that on Xenophon's going to Delphi, to consult the oracle

157 whether he should undertake the expedition, and to inquire to what god he should offer sacrifices, Apollo alone replied to him. The sense of the passage is, 'to whom (Jupiter), above all the other gods, he was commanded by Apollo, at Delphi, to offer sacrifices.

11. *συσταθήμενος*, about to be introduced.

12. *διξίον*.] It was an old superstition, among the Greeks, to look upon all appearances on the right hand, particularly that of an eagle, as an omen of success.

26. *εὖ μίντε ἐμὲ προκερδῆναι*, that I indeed should be preferred.

158 4. *μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σφρονησθῆιν*, lest I should very soon be taught better.

11. *πολὺ μᾶλλον*.] These words rather qualify *λίγοντις* than *ἐκασίοντες*. Some copies read *πλείους*, instead of *μᾶλλον*, which would qualify *ἐκασίοντες*. If the present reading be retained, the sentence might be translated, *they rose up exclaiming much more vehemently*: if *πλείους* be substituted, *they rose up in much greater numbers, exclaiming, &c.*

18. *ἰδυὴν ἰόρα πλείους ἰδίων*, when he saw that it was necessary to speak more openly or plainly.

29. *καὶ μᾶλα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν ἐνθάδζοντες*, although I strongly enjoin silence upon him. Chrisophus means to insinuate that Xenophon was not in favor with the Lacedæmonians.

159 2. *ἀπεξίμουν*.] See note, page 148, line 4.

CHAPTER II.

7. *Ἰασονίαν*.] For the account of Jason's expedition, see Anthon's *Lempriere*.

12. *τῇ Ἀχρεουσιᾷ Χερσῇ*, the Peninsula Acherusia. There is a large cave near this peninsula, which was said to be the passage down to the realms of Pluto, and from which Hercules dragged up Cerberus, as here related.

27. *Κυζικηνούς*.] See *Antiq. Appendix*.

160 2. *προϋβάλλοντο*, they proposed to send: imperfect.

3. *εἰσι δ' αὖ καὶ Ξυμφῶντα*.] Supply *προϋβάλλοντο*

4. *ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιμάχοντο*, declined altogether.

19. ἐν Ἀθηναῖον.] Xenophon, whom they considered as really 160 exercising the chief command over the army, although Chirisephus had been named their leader.

30. συνίστησαν, united themselves together.

31. ἐν τῇς καώσης.] See note, page 156, line 26.

6. ἕως οὐκ μηδὲς μετέσχοι, that no one therefore might share this 161 with them.

10. αὐτῶν.] Some refer this to Neo, others, and among them Zeunius and Hutchinson, to Xenophon.

11. τῇς στρατιᾶς.] By this we are to understand that part of the army with which he was connected.

CHAPTER III.

1. Ὁ μὲν οὖν.] From these two recapitulatory lines, some an- 102 cient editor endeavoured to make it appear that this must be the commencement of a new book. But the recapitulation embraces so little compared with the exordiums of most of the other books, that the argument for making this the commencement of a new book is rather weak. Besides, most of the manuscripts are against such a division.

7. λείχες.] For the short time that the Arcadians and Achaïans were separated from the rest of the army, as they had elected ten generals, the λείχες consisted of the tenth part of four thousand five hundred.

8. σύνδυσ, two together, two at a time.

8. Συνθάλοντο δὲ καὶ λίθον, They had agreed upon a hill, — they had fixed among themselves, upon a hill.

12. διαφυγόντες.] The better reading is διαφύγοντες, the present part. The Thracians, as fast as they escaped, assembled together in a body.

15. εἰς τὸ συνειμίμνον, to an appointed place, to a place of rendezvous: χωρίον understood.

18. τρίπονται αὐτοῖς.] Supply οἱ Θεῶν.

22. οἱ μὲν ἐν πρᾶγμασιν, οἱ δ' ἄνευ πρᾶγμάτων, some with difficulty, and some without any difficulty.

- 162 29. *οἱ δέ.*] That is, *οἱ δὲ Θρᾷταις*. But *ἑσίων*, in the next line, refers to the Greeks.
- 163 1. *πάντες*, referring to the Greeks; *πάντες*, to the Thracians.
 3. *ἐπιπλοῦντες.*] See F. Rule II, Cbs. 8.
 7. *ἐν τούτῳ ἔρχεται*, in this situation things remain. That is, as the Thracians do not like the terms of the proposal of their giving hostages, there is no agreement about a treaty.
 27. *ἔσθ' . . . διασπασαίμεθα.*] Xenophon here would not seem to speak with reference to any particular time for supper, but would have the soldiers march as far as they could before supper.
- 164 9. *κατὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχοντες.*] That is, *to depend for our safety only upon our union*. With a genitive *ἔχοντες* is not unfrequently found, having the signification of *to cleave to, to pursue*.
 10. *παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν γινόμεν, having adopted this resolution.*
 31. *ἔλθον . . . γινόμενοι*, found themselves unawares, that is, they reached the hill where the Arcadians had been, before they were aware of it.
- 165 12. *εἰς τὸ αὐτό.*] That is, *εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον*.
 20. *πυθόμενοι τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν*, having learned our situation.

CHAPTER IV.

25. *πρὸς τῇ λιμνῇ*, near the harbour.
29. *εἰρήνη.*] Arrian says, that the distance from Byzantium to Heraclea, which is beyond Calpe, is eight hundred stadia: and according to Herodotus, seven hundred stadia were a day's row for a trireme galley.
- 166 7. *ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα*, twenty fathoms, equal to one hundred and twenty feet: *ὁ δὲ ἀνὰ ἡμέραν*, the isthmus.
 9. *τὸ δ' ἰσθμὸς*] That is, the space between the main land and the extreme point of the promontory.
 14. *ναυπηγήσιμα*, suitable for ship-building.
 24. *εἰς δὲ τὸ πύλον αὖ γινόμενοι.*] It would seem that the word *χωρίον* should be supplied after *τό*, and that the clause is equivalent to

eis δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ὃ ἂν τέλεισμα γίνετο, into a place which might easily 166
become a city, or into a place well adapted for the building of a city.

29. οἱ μὲν καὶ ἄνδρας ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ περισηλωκότες χρήματα.] This clause Spelman translates, "some even bring soldiers with them who had spent their fortunes;" thus translating ἄνδρας, "soldiers," and making the article οἱ the relative οἷ. But οἱ μὲν and οἱ δὲ are evidently opposed to each other. Bornemann thinks that ἄνδρας has surreptitiously crept into the text, and should be ejected. It would then read, *some bringing their fortunes, and others having spent their all before they came.* If we read ἄνδρες for ἄνδρας the sense will be good, — *some men bringing, &c.*

3. τῆς αὖς ταὐτὸ ἐνὶ οὐδοῦ, of the union of the army at the same 167
PLACE, that is, at Calpe.

6. τὰ ἱερὰ ἱγίνετο.] The verb ἱγίνετο may be rendered, *were favorable*; καλὰ or χεῖρτὰ to be supplied.

19. καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπείναι, (τὸ στρατόν understood), and that the army should march away in the same order it preserved before.

32. οὐκ ἱγίνετο.] See note on line 6 of this page.

32. καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἔφη.] Xenophon here seems to give the 168
direction of the sacrifice to another, fearing lest the soldiers might suspect him of deception, from a wish that the army should remain at Calpe, and settle there. The verb προσθυμῆσθαι may be rendered, *to give earnest attention*: ἢ τί ἐν τούτῳ ἔφη, if there might be any thing favorable in this sacrifice.

6. ὡς ἡγούμενος ἑαυτοῦ, promising himself as their leader. 169

19. τοὺς λυπεύς ἄνδρας, the men who had escaped the slaughter.

CHAPTER V.

20. καὶ τὴν οὐρανὸν τοῦ κείματος ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους θανόντας νεκρούς, having made the extreme part of the army halt opposite 170
the first dead which appeared. For while the extreme rear of the army were burying the dead, the van were prepared to defend them from the enemy.

27. συνισγύνετες αὐτούς, having collected them together in one place.

- 171 9. *ἰστανάσθαι τῇ φάλαγγι*, to place behind the main body.
 13. *τῶν.*] That is, *κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων*.
 18. *τὸν μὲν.*] That is, *τὸν μὲν εἰσὶν*.
 19. *ἰστέριψεν ἰφίστασθαι*, commanded to follow.
 26. *ἔτι τὸ ἀγούμενον.*] Supply *μῆκος*, to the front line.
 29. *ἔτι βουλῆς εὖν ἄξιον εἶναι, εἰ . . . ὥστος*, literally, *that it was not worth while to consider whether this ravine should be passed*: meaning that it was undoubtedly inexpedient to pass it.
 33. *Μιλούμενον.*] This refers rather to *νίδυνον* than to *μί*, and may be rendered *unnecessary*.
 33. *διζῆς . . . εἰς ἀνδριότητα*, *that glory which is consequent upon bravery*. This short address of Xenophon to his soldiers is most energetic and eloquent, and is equally worthy of him as an orator and a general.
- 172 7. *οὐδὲν καλῶ ἵσκει*, *becomes no honorable man*.
 10. *Καὶ τοῦτους.*] The order is, *Καὶ εἴθ' ἔτι εὐδ' ὁμοῦς ἐλατίζοντες τοῦτους, ἰσίωντες μὲν ἡμῶν* (gen. abs.), *διζασθαι ἡμᾶς*.
 19. *τὸ ἐπιδόν.*] This refers to the plain they had already passed, which could not be repassed if the enemy's horse were not conquered.
 22. *ὥστος εἰ ὥστος ὁ Πόντος*; *what a gulf is the Euxine sea?* compared to which this is nothing.
 33. *ἢ εἰ . . . ἐξιμνηρόντες*, *than if they fled off*.
- 174 8. *ὥστος.*] The horse of the enemy, knowing well the ground, and taking advantage of the night, fled to this valley; which they would not otherwise have done, as the place was much more difficult for cavalry than infantry.

CHAPTER VI.

26. *καταγγον*, *came into harbour*, *τὰ πλοῦς εἰς τὸν λιμένα* understood.
- 175 1. *Κἀν τοῦτο.*] Supply *χρόνον*. *Κἀν* for *καὶ* is.
 13. *ἄφαιρέται*, *takes him away*, that is, takes from Dexippus the man whom he was carrying to Cleander.
 16. *τὸν προδότην.*] The article has great force here, as if they

had said, *the noted traitor*, the one who secretly sailed away with the fifty-oar galley. 175

33. Καὶ ὁμῶς μί] The sense is, *And you shall not deliver me up, bound, to Cleander.* 176

3. εὐχνομένης τε, *and may you return safe.* 177

19. κλιόμενος.] This, as well as ἀφιλόμηνος, agrees with ἑγώ.

29. Τούτων οὖν τινῶν ὄντα ἀφιλόμηνον, *such therefore is the character of the fellow from whom I rescued the man; ἀφιλόμηνον governing two accusatives.*

30. Εἰ δὲ σὺ ἤγεις, *But if you had been carrying him away.* This is a very artful and happy compliment to Cleander.

9. εἰ καὶ οὕτω, *although you think.* 178

16. τινῶντος.] Cleander appears to judge rather hastily of the man's character, taking his own statement in his own case, without proof.

3. νῆμαί.] This is the Doric form of the infinitive, for νέμαν. 179

4. μὰ τὰ Σιών.] Σιών was the old Doric for Θεός. Σιών, being in the dual number, means, *the two divinities*: μὰ τὰ Σιών, *by the two divinities*, meaning Castor and Pollux; which form of swearing was prevalent among the Lacedæmonians.

23. διαδίσκου, *having exposed for sale*

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

- 180 11. *ἔα ὅτι*, what ought to be done.
- 181 15. *εἰ ὃ μὲν*.] See note, page 98, line 26.
24. 'Ο ὃ.' That is, 'Ο ὃ' 'Αναξίβιος.
27. *ἔτι αὐτοὶ αὐτὸν αἰτιάσινται*, that he should attribute the blame to himself. There seems to be a designed ambiguity in the expression, which Anaxibius would wish to have the soldiers interpret, — if you do not receive the promised pay, blame yourselves, not me.
28. *ἄρῃ*, entirely, wholly.
- 182 3. *Κονίσιος*.] Zeunius thinks that this was a Lacedæmonian, who was carrying on a war with the Thracians.
28. *ἔξω*.] The sententious brevity of this sentence is admirable, and seems to correspond with the hurry of the moment which it describes. Some copies read *ἔσω* after *ἔξω*.
28. *καθύλαεν τὰς τριήρεις*.] See Antiq. Part. 9. Chap. 1.
- 183 6. 'Αλλ' *εἰδ*.] By ordering the soldiers to stand to their arms, it was his design to overawe any who might be straggling through the city, in quest of plunder.
11. *εἰς ὅττω*, eight deep.
- 184 30. *καθήμενος*, remaining in quiet expectation.
32. *στρατηγιῶν*, ambitious to be a general.
- 185 1. *Δίλτα*. That portion of Thrace which extends from Byzantium to Salmydessus, is called *the Delta*, from its triangular shape. See Map.
- 186 3. 'Ἐτι ἢ πολλῶν *ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ*, literally, but when there wanted many to him, that is, "when he needed many more provisions, in order to distribute even one day's allowance to each soldier."

CHAPTER II.

11. Σιούθῳ.] Seuthes was king of Thrace. See page 180, 186 line 19.

18. ἀποδιδόμενῳ, disposing of, selling.

26. Ἰσεν οὐ παρὶν ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλάς ποτεν, that he would instantly be in the Hellespont; that he was that instant about to be in; that he was all but in. To supply the ellipsis and translate it literally, that he was now as far as he could be present and not be present.

12. Πέρινθος.] Perinthus was a city of Thrace, near Byzantium. 187

23. εἴν τι εἶν.] εἶς is used in the sense of ready; as, εἶς εἰμι ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κινδυνεύειν.—able; εἶς τι λέγειν, able to speak; in the neuter, possible; εἴν τι ἔστιν, it is impossible.

28. ἰρήμους.] That is, which were not attended by any guards. 188

33. Ἴθι νῦν, come now: ἀφύγῃς, imperative, and addressed to 189 Μνησάδης, who reports to Σιούθῳ; Xenophon's answer.

6. Οὐκ ἔφραδα εἶν τ' εἶναι, you said that what I proposed could 190 not be effected.

25. καὶ ἰκαθίζομεν ἑδρίφους, as I was sitting on the same seat with him at table. The Thracians used to sit at table, and not recline after the manner of the Greeks. The word ἰκίτης is very expressive of his destitute situation, being generally applied to those persons who were obliged to leave their native country for some misfortune or crime, and went to a foreign power as supplicants for protection.

CHAPTER III.

19. τὴν μὲν ἀρὲς Ἀρίσταρχον ἰδοὶ ἱᾶσαι, not to go to Aristarchus; 191 literally, to neglect or let alone the way to Aristarchus.

3. σέοιτο βουλεύεσθαι.] That is, whether you will obey Aristar- 192 chus, or go to Seuthes.

23. ἱξιώσθαι.] From ἱκίω.

- 192 30. ἐν ἡμετέροις, *what is customary*; that is, double to the λαχαγοί, quadruple to the στρατηγοί.
- 193 2. μαρτυρίαν, *to search out, discover*.
13. ἄβημα.] See note, page 46, line 23.
- 194 26. φαγὼν διπλῆς, *an enormous eater*.
27. οὐα χαίρειν.] This elegant phrase may be translated, *did not attend to*. So Æschines ἰάσμεν χαίρειν, *missos faciemus, we will bid good bye to*.
27. περιχόουσαν.] The voracity of this man is indeed apparent from this word, since one χοῖνιξ was a common day's allowance.
- 195 28. στυγαίνοντιδάρου.] It was a custom among the Thracians for those who, at a feast, had drunk sufficient themselves, to pour out the rest from the cup upon those they had pledged in drinking. Xenophon, probably, is particular to observe this custom, in honor of his host, who afterwards pours out μετ' αὐτοῦ, *with him*.

CHAPTER IV.

- 198 1. ἴζαμα, *alone, without a leader and apart from the rest of the troops*.
13. οὐα εἰσέναι, *what they would suffer*: see πέρχου.
24. ζυγέαι.] These were loose garments extending nearly to the feet. They may be translated *cassocks*, or *trousers*. It is probable that they were drawn over the inner clothing, as an additional defence from the cold.
25. τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.] For τοὺς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.
- 199 26. ἐν τοῖς Θρηξί, *among those Thracians who are called the mountain Thracians*.
- 200 12. οἱ δὲ τοῖς σφυράλοις ἱβαλλον, *others attacked them with clubs*.
13. ἴφασαν.] The captured Thynians seem to be understood.
19. ἐτῶν ἐκτοκαίδεκα. Schneider observes that Xenophon seems to have remarked on the age of the youth, because the strength of a full grown man would appear to be requisite for blowing the trumpet.
- 201 9. ἡμεῶν.] See note, page 199, line 26.
10. περιπλασίαν.] That is, three times the number he had when the Greeks first came to his assistance.

CHAPTER V.

26. *ἔτι ἄνω*, still farther up, that is, at a greater distance from 202
the sea.

28. *οὐδὲν ἴσται ἤ*, quite as well as: *σφῆς* refers to
the generals, whom Heraclides had summoned to Seuthes.

12. *ἐκίλλουσι καὶ ἐκρίπτουσι*, strike upon the rocks and are 203
wrecked.

CHAPTER VI.

14. *κελεύει παραγγν*, ordered that they should be brought in, 204
that is, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors.

17. *ἐπὶ ξυνίῃ*.] *Τραπεζίῃ* understood, to an hospitable banquet.

15. *τὰ ὑμῖντετα ἔχοντα παρὰ Σεύθου τιχιάζων*, that I, having your 206
pay which I have received from Seuthes, am artfully deceiving you.

21. *ἡμῖν*.] That is, to Xenophon and Seuthes.

21. *ἔνι πρῶτῳ αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα*, if you exact the money
from him.

25. *πολλοῦ δυν ἔχων*, to be very far from having.

27. *εὐστραφές*.] Not drawn up together, but regularly organised 207
and equipped.

29. *ἰντινασῶν*.] These words are sometimes separated, *ἰντινα ὄν*.

4. *καὶ ἐν τῇ μίρῃ καὶ παρὰ τὴ μίρῃ*, both in his official station and 209
out of his official station, as an officer and as a man.

14. *Ὁ μὴν*.] That is, *Ὁ μὴν καὶ ἰδὲν ὁμῶν ὄναι*, *π. τ. λ.*

CHAPTER VII.

15. *ἔστι*.] This is a form of the pluperfect mid. for *ἔσται*. 211

32. *τούτους ἐπιτερίψαι*, to submit the question to these people. 212

2. *ὃν ἴρη*, said that he would not, that is, "that he would not 213
leave it to the decision of the people in whose country they were."

24. *σφροσίζων*, to produce reformation in any one.

- 214 33. *ὁμοῦν* *παραμένειναι*, in the first place, therefore, the confidence of men, which has procured for you your kingdom, is bartered away by you for this sum of money, that is, for this sum which you owe us, and have refused to pay.
- 215 13. *ἡ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐρίσθες*, your annual income.
- 216 11. *ἰῶρα*.] Governed by *ἔχιν* two lines below.
24. *ταῦτόν τι καῖναι*, to make me in as high standing.
- 217 15. *Ἄρ' οὐκ*.] The sense of this passage is, *Since indeed, my situation is dangerous, would it not be better that I, by going away, should get clear of the stones with which I am threatened?*
27. *λαφυροτάτας*, persons who sell, in small parcels, plunder which they obtain in great quantities.
19. *ὃ γὰρ πρὶν ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἰσχυρὰ*, for the vote was not yet passed upon him. See the Life of Xenophon.

CHAPTER VIII

- 218 3. *τὰ ἱέρηνα*, the dramas, which was probably the well-known name of the picture.
5. *Λυκίῳ*.] The Lyceum.
14. *ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μυλίκιος*, *Milichian*, *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter the Placable*. This was the name by which Jupiter was addressed when sacrifices were offered to him after the completion of any great undertaking, that he might look with placability upon any faults that had been committed, or any duties neglected.
15. *ἐλευσεν*.] To offer an *holocaust*, was to lay the whole victim upon the altar, to be burnt.
- 220 18. *Ἀγασίας*.] whose bravery is recorded in Book IV. Chap. 7, and Book V. Chap. 2, and who had fought unharmed till the present occasion.

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